

# The Star

Jordan's political, economic  
and cultural weekly



Le Jourdain  
Supplément en français de Star

Le chantier de la  
paix n'avance  
plus depuis un an  
page 8



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The WorldPaper

## Regent asks donors to shoulder responsibilities for refugees



IN AN address delivered on Tuesday at UNRWA's extraordinary meeting of donor governments and the members of the United Nations University's International Leadership Academy (UNU/ILA), HRH Crown Prince Hassan, the Regent, called the donor countries of UNRWA to shoulder their responsibilities towards the Palestinian refugees.

He said they deserve a decent treatment from the international community to ease the sufferings they have gone through since they have been uprooted from their land.

Prince Hassan said Jordan has done its utmost in creating a stable environment for Palestinians, "but to expect us to shoulder a disproportionate share of a historic burden that continues to await a just political solution is unfair and quite frankly, completely unrealistic."

Jordan contributes, the Prince pointed out, a major part of its annual budget to support programs for Palestinian refugees in 10 camps. The \$300 million that Jordan spends on Palestinian refugees includes the rent of camp sites, the cost of the education of refugee students at government schools, improvements in camp facilities and the provision of medical care in government schools.

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## Election fever starts amidst political muddle

By Hamdan Al Hajj  
Special to The Star

AS THE countdown to the coming parliamentary election begins, the Interior Ministry is busy preparing for the final show. It wants to make sure that the election will be held on time.

His Majesty King Hussein, has reiterated through his visits to different parts of the Kingdom, that the elections will be held on their constitutional time, in November.

His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan, the Regent, also confirmed in his meeting last Saturday with representatives from the Jordan Valley, that 1997 will be an "election year."

The government is also adamant. Deputy Premier Dr Abdullah Ensour, denies any official intention to postpone the elections.

Minister of Interior, Nahir Rashid, is expected to hold contacts with governors and visit their governorates to assure them that the next elections will run fairly.

Official sources expect that the voters' electoral lists will be revised on 1 August.

But this has not put an end



Islamic bloc: A show of hands for the election

to speculations. Some deputies are saying that the government could still extend the current term of the Lower House by one more year.

Nevertheless there is election fever. The subject continues to be the talk of the country, whether in political saloons or amongst the public. Some tribes in the north and the south of the Kingdom have already chosen their representatives. Also, political

however, the Muslim Brotherhood today thinks that it too should have a right in the choice of candidates.

Observers believe that members of the so-called Islamic old guards think that the point of reference should be the Muslim Brotherhood. Holders of this view include Abdel Munem Abu Zunt, Mahmood Abu Faris and Hamam Said.

This implies that there will be a major split between the two organizations in the coming months.

Aside from Islamists, there are the Lower House deputies. One deputy to give a definite "no" is Taher Al Masri, a former Prime Minister and veteran politician for many years. However, he says he will give his support to any candidate which shares his political views.

But for many deputies, the game so far has been characterized with chopping and changing. One day they are saying they won't, other days they are saying they will.

One obvious case in point are Awad Khleifat and Jamal Al Sarraf. Ministers in the former Kabarti government, initially the deputies said they won't be standing for re-elections. However, it now seems that the deputies who represent constituencies in the south of the country will stand for re-elections.

Ahdel Raouf Al Rawahdi is another surprise. While one would think that he would be raring to go into the elections after he merged his Yaqatha into the New Constitutional Party, this is not the case at all. He is still hesitant about putting his name down.

But such dithering has not dampened the election fever. Today the talk is about the next character of the Lower House. Will it be even more pro-government? How big will the size of opposition be and foremost what will happen to the Islamists.

Some expect that their number to trickle down to eight seats from the present 15 seats.

Islamists lost seats in the current parliament compared to the last; it had about 24 seats in the 11th Parliament, being reduced to only 17 in the current one. This was

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## King seeks greater European role in region

AMMAN (Star)—Their Majesties King Hussein and Queen Noor Tuesday arrived in the Hague at the first leg of a four-nation European tour, which will take them to the Netherlands, France, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

King Hussein and Queen Noor were received by Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands and senior Dutch officials, in addition to Jordan's Foreign Minister Fayez Al Tarawneh and Jordan's ambassador to the Netherlands, Umayya Tougan.

King Hussein will meet with Queen Beatrix, French President Jacques Chirac, French and Dutch premier, and also members of the Dutch parliament.

The King will discuss with senior officials in these countries issues of bilateral cooperation in the economic and trade fields, as well as the Middle East peace process. The Jordanian-European partnership agreement will also be discussed.

The King will brief the European senior officials on Jordan's plans and incentives to encourage investment in the country.



King Hussein with Queen Beatrix

The King is accompanied by Prime Minister Abdel Salam Al Majali, Royal Court Chief Awn Al Khasawneh, Planning Minister Rima Khalaf and Minister of Industry, Trade and Supply Hani Al Mulki.

## New Palestinian generation feels legacy of Israeli rule

By Nicholas Goldberg  
OCCUPIED JERUSALEM—Just hours after his arrest by the Palestinian secret police last year, Ghazi Hamad was led blindfolded and handcuffed into a little room in the heart of the Gaza Central Prison.

His interrogation took place over several days, during which, he says, he was beaten repeatedly. For more than three days, he was not allowed to sleep, and when he wasn't being beaten, he was often left bound and hunched in a chair in a narrow hallway, assaulted by blaring rock-and-roll music and the screams of men being beaten in nearby cells.

It was while he was in the corridor that a strange and disquieting notion came to him, a Middle Eastern *deja vu*.

"I realized that my own people were doing to me exactly what the Israelis had done," said Hamad, who spent five years in Israeli prisons during the early 1990s for his role as a leader of the militant Hamas organization. "The rock-and-roll and sleep deprivation, the chair, even leaving me out in the corridor to hear the screams, I was stunned, but then I remembered that almost all of them had spent time in Israeli jails, and this, I guess, is what they learned there."

The irony was obvious to Hamad, though somewhat frightening. Three decades after the Israelis captured the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinians had spent so much time in Israeli jails that they had adopted the methods of their captors, as naturally and easily as they had learned to speak Hebrew in the prison yard. It was a legacy of Israeli rule that would be passed on to the next generation of Palestinians.

Today, even as the hold of the Israelis over the territories is starting to loosen and the Palestinians are beginning to wrestle with what kind of society they will create in the vacuum, legacies like these—not just interrogation techniques, but the accumulated economic, social, psychological and cultural baggage of 30 years of occupation—are shaping the Palestinian future.

"You'd be amazed at what the occupation has done to us as a people," said Salah Tamari, a longtime PLO military official from Bethlehem who is now a member of the Palestinian legislative council. "It's like a plant growing in a distorted environment. Our natural growth was altered, our normal life was disrupted. I think it will take a very long time before we even begin to understand just how significant and damaging the effect has been."

The occupation dates back 30 years this week to the Six Day War in June 1967, when Israel, threatened from all sides, marched into the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, annexing 3,600 square miles of territory and more than a million Palestinian enemies of the state. Arguing that they

needed to hold the territory as a strategic buffer zone against Palestinian terrorists and hostile Arab neighbors, the Israelis took control of all facets of day-to-day life, from the mundane bureaucratic tasks of issuing drivers licenses, housing permits and travel documents to the deployment of the police, prisons and army battalions that have been the foundation of their power in the territories ever since.

Today, about 75 percent of the 2.5 million residents of the West Bank and Gaza are under 30, meaning they have never known life without Israeli army checkpoints, Hebrew-language signs and hostile bureaucrats. About 400,000 Palestinians have been arrested and jailed

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## Saving Lebanon's trees

By Ann LoLordo  
MAASSERA AL SHOUF RESERVE, Lebanon—The cedars of Lebanon rise from the snow-dappled slopes of a limestone mountain.

To enter this sanctuary of green, Karim Alameddine unlocks a white iron gate. He walks along a narrow path to a ridge where wild boar, hyenas and the golden mole rat occasionally roam. And gazes toward the trees he must save.

"You see that big tree with all the children and grandchildren?" he says, pointing to a centuries-old cedar and its offspring towering beside the

forests and shelter disappearing plants and animals. But with Lebanon still recovering from its 15-year civil war, environmentalists such as Alameddine have a difficult task.

Many villages in the Shouf mountains of central Lebanon remain burned-out shells. Families forced to flee during the conflict have yet to return. The government has focused its energy and money not on scattered villages but on rebuilding Beirut. And against a backdrop of oeds for housing and jobs, the idea of saving trees and wildlife may seem superfluous.

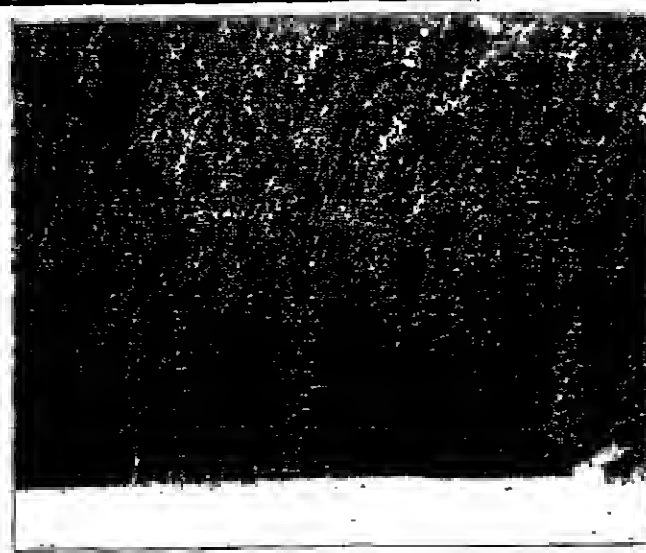
Faisal Abu-Izzeddin, national coordinator of the conservation project, says the future of the Lebanese cedar is at stake. If steps aren't taken, "the only safe place for the cedar will be on the flag, not on the ground."

The cedars' presence dates back to at least biblical times, and the assault on them is just as old.

"Everyone who was anyone who came through this country confiscated them—to build their ships and their temples," says Izzeddine, who spent 12 years at the Smithsonian Institution's conservation center in Fort Royal, Va. "The onslaught was merciless."

The cedars' protectors have ranged from Emperor Hadrian of Rome, in the second century, to, in this century, Walid Jumblatt, the Druze warlord who ruled the mountains during the civil war.

Emperor Hadrian was so shocked by the sad state of the cedars and forests of Lebanon, he declared an area that stretched all the way to Beirut "eminent domain," keeping everyone out, says Izzeddine, a courtly looking man of 55. Jumblatt, now a government minister, planted trees along the mountain roads during the war. He also put out the word that he had mined the forests.



The unique cedar trees of Lebanon goes back to ancient times

He remains one of the cedars' benefactors: he donated the use of his summer palace in the village of Mouhktara for use by the Al Shouf Cedar Society.

But the forests still declined. An aerial photograph of the cedar forests shows the extent of the damage, the bald patches where once a contiguous grove of cedars grew. Overgrazing by sheep and

goats contributed to the deforestation.

With help from the United Nations Global Environmental Facility, Izzeddine and Assad A. Serhal, an American-educated agricultural engineer, devised a conservation plan to protect the cedars and wildlife—a plan for establishing Lebanon's first national parks, train-

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On the Occasion of the  
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ILA/ United Nations University

# Creating leaders for the future

By Aida Al Taweeel  
Special to The Star

**HUMANITY, COURAGE and Humility** are the most important quality in a leader. His Majesty King Hussein told a gathering of 'young leaders' from 65 countries assembled in Amman. He added that "a true leader should always consider leaving a legacy behind him/her and set an example to others."

The King was speaking on the second week of a leadership program that is the first to be held in Jordan. The course, which lasts till 4 July, is first of its kind in the world, and is being held by the International Leadership Academy (ILA) whose headquarters is now in Amman.

The ILA is part of the United Nations University. The driving force behind the setting up of an International Leadership Academy was Prime Minister Abdel Salam Al Majali who says that "leadership is both a science and an art, a science because it consists of identifiable skill which can be developed and acquired, an art because it is also an *état d'esprit* given to articulating visions, taking risks and pursuing goals undeterred by obstacles."

The one-month program has been structured around four themes—leadership skills and attitudes, leadership on peace and security, youth leadership and international leadership. The idea is to induce leadership training at the very highest international level, ILA Director in

Amman Professor Adel Safty says.

These themes are organized around different workshops and sub-themes. Participants—who include selected professional young men and women from all walks of life—on the program are examining issues which affect their performance in the workplace, in society, or some leadership position.

One of the participants, Kim Beng Phar from Malaysia says that what is unique about this conference is its "cultural diversity...it will also become more livelier and dynamic as more people try to transcend their different cultural and political background to deeply understand the meaning and practice of democratic leadership."

Thus there have been workshops on diversity of leadership, leadership among chaos, leadership without authority, leadership in attitudes, on peace and security, Europe and Middle East peace and the security of peace. There are topics on disarmament, regional integration and challenges to world peace.

This may certainly satisfy the aspirations of Erich Ogoso Opolot, a journalist from Uganda who says that "leadership in its broad context is a challenge we all face, not just in our official capacities but also in domestic situations."

What is interesting is that the participants are covering a multitude of cross-cultural topics, areas that are designed to establish commonalities and shared values.

Thus, there is not only the East Asian experiences of leadership, but there is the issue of the challenges of science and technology from that part of the world. Participants also learn about the European experience.

In fact, cross-cultural experiences was the name of the game. Chester Morris, a public health researcher from at Columbia University in New York says he wanted to understand "leadership in cross-cultural interaction, the meaning of leadership in different cultures and how to improve the UN leadership, especially in developing countries."

A list of distinguished speakers are taking part in the program. On the local level, there is of course, King Hussein, followed by Dr Abdel Salam Al Majali, the Speaker of the Upper House of Parliament, Zeid Al Rifai, and Foreign Minister Fayez Al Tarawneh.

Others include international personalities who are or have been in positions of leadership such as Lord Ian Gilmore (Former Minister of Defence in Britain), Hisashi Owada, (Japanese Permanent Representative to the UN), Paul Findly (US Congress), Shimon Peres (Former Prime Minister of Israel), Jan Englund (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Norway), Hui Yongzhen (Chinese Deputy Minister of Science and Technology), and Sir David Steel (President of the Liberal International).

Opolot continues that "when I applied



for this program, I expected that this was opportunity to understand the perceptions of leadership from leaders and develop new attitudes towards leadership."

Justus Abonyo Nyangaya, a social development consultant from Kenya sees the issues in a different perspective. "Mistakes have been made in the past as the consequence of lack of collective vision and lack of leadership. From this program, we hope to redefine leadership roles that are once again compatible with the contemporary times."

Participants have clearly come to the program with fixed perceptions. As the organizers of the program suggest, they have not come here to learn more from

textbook theories but have come for practical advice from different international practitioners.

Commenting on the program, Leong Sze Hian from Singapore, and the honorary consul of Burkina Faso, says "I want to become a better leader to serve my community when I return. To learn from the experiences of the distinguished faculty of world leaders."

There is a lot more for the participants on the agenda this week. Learning to be good leaders is a difficult business but the organizers are determined that the next two-weeks will be crammed with activity so that the full potential of the program will be realized. ■

## Regent asks donors to shoulder responsibility for refugees

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The Prince stressed that none of what Jordan is doing to refugees should be understood as preempting the duties of the UNRWA which has an invaluable role to play in educating and training Palestinians to administer their own future.

"Nor should the social productivity program [adopted by Jordan] be viewed as changing in any way the political status of the Palestinian refugees, in terms of their political rights of return and/or compensation," he said. ■

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## Saving Lebanon's trees

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ing a staff of park rangers, safeguarding the indigenous trees and wildlife and reintroducing animal species that have disappeared from the area.

They want an adopt-a-cedar program. They want ecotourism—hikes, trails, scout camps, picnic areas. But first, they say, people have to be persuaded the environment is important.

"We are trying to bring people together. This was a nation torn apart," says Izzeddine. "We're trying to bring people together for conservation."

One unforeseen problem is due to the United States and its drug control efforts in the early 1970s. To try to stop the production of hashish in the Bekaa Valley, the US channeled money to the farmers—"all of whom bought power saws," says Izzeddine. "All you hear now is the buzzing of those saws. They are devastating our forests."

Lebanon's government tried in the 1960s to replant the cedar forests. Terraces were cut into the land; seedlings were planted. Some took, many did not. Everyone learned that the best way for a forest to grow is through natural growth—decade by

decade.

One way to nudge nature along is to provide a protected environment for trees. Another way is to restrict hunters and animal grazing. When park rangers recently caught three poachers and their cache of eight trapped partridges, the arrests were prominently featured in the local newspaper. When park rangers saw a goat herd grazing in a protected area, they called out the Lebanese army. The herdsmen received a warning. Next time he'll be fined.

At one time, forests covered about 20 percent of Lebanon. The figure has dropped to less than five percent. Of the 18 areas where cedars grow, only three are protected by law. They contain one to 2 million cedars, along with junipers, maples and wild apple trees.

Alameddine, a burly man who drives a Land Rover and keeps a cellular phone on his hip, is helping manage the Shouf region. He learned about conservation on the family farm in southern Lebanon, one of the first privately protected parcels in Lebanon. He oversaw the farm operations until 1993 when fighting between an Islamic militia and Israeli soldiers came too close. Jumblatt, the conservation-

minded minister, then chose him to oversee the cedars project in the Shouf.

"This is a rare sight," Alameddine says of the cedar reserve behind the locked white gate. "and I have been all over the world."

Up here, 6,000 feet above the Mediterranean, the deep-rooted cedars stretch far and wide. Their scent fills the mountain air.

"Sometimes I will come and sleep at night under the cedars," Alameddine says from his perch on the ridge. "I can stay here a week without getting bored." You can listen for migrating birds. You can watch Persian squirrels run along a tree root.

He is standing alongside an especially formidable cedar. It has not one trunk, but four. Each spur is about as wide around as a backyard maple or oak.

"Maybe in a thousand years, there will be trees like that tree, if there is still mankind," Alameddine says. "Lebanon is a seed still emerging from the ground."

"One has to be very careful taking care of it." ■

LA Times-Washington Post  
News Service

## Dakamseh's trial arouses controversy

Continued from page 1

take oath saying that it is against their beliefs, but they "declared that they will tell the truth."

Others have later argued that this is another legal precedent. According to the law, witnesses must give a sworn testimony in Jordanian courts according to Mjalli.

Be that as it may, the session continued. The first to speak through an interpreter was forensic expert Hiss Yehudah who told the courts that he examined the bodies of the seven girls and stated that six of them were shot in the back.

Another witness Zeiv Kramer, the 45-year-old who was escorting the school girls at the time of the incident told the courts that when the shooting occurred he called for help, and "on the way, I saw a military truck coming in my direction." He continued that "the vehicle approached me and the driver swerved in my direction. I jumped but my foot was run over by the truck's wheel."

Another witness Zakaria Ozari, who refused to take the oath said that he told three Jordanian soldiers to stop the soldier but they said "he was crazy. I told them he is crazy, but

he is killing us, and I later asked for bandages from Jordanian soldiers to rescue the injured girls but they refused and told me it was forbidden to do so and asked me to go away," the teacher said.

Israeli witnesses who were cross-examined by Mjalli about what the girls were wearing on the day of the incident all testified that the girls were "all religious and wore modest and conservative clothes which consisted of pants, skirts and blouses of different colors."

When arrested Dakamseh told investigators that the girls had provoked him while he was praying, and he shot them defending his military honor. Charges against Corp. Dakamseh include premeditated murder, attempting murder, using a weapon and disobeying orders. He could face the death penalty if found guilty on the four charges.

The five-men military tribunal is to hold another court session on Sunday to listen to 10 more Israeli witnesses.

After their testimony, His Majesty King Hussein hosted a dinner engagement for the Israeli witnesses. ■

## Election fever starts amidst political muddle

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reduced to 15 because two members were expelled for supporting the former government of Abdel Karim Al Khabazi.

Even before the latest debate, the Muslim Brotherhood has been facing a more ideological debate between the pragmatists and traditionalists. Observers believe it is this debate that will create a large dent in their support.

Observers further argue that the movement is undergoing an "impairment" process in their view and perspective. They are those moderates for instance who are calling for the "Jordanization" of the movement's agenda in Jordan. They want for instance

to be more "parochially" oriented and concentrate on local issues rather than on a regional perspective.

This is added to those who believe that they should join future governments and that they should not stay in the political wilderness. Holders of this view include Abdallah Al Akaleh and Bassam Al Omoush.

In addition to this context, it is believed the creation of the NCP will capture a not inconsiderable number of votes.

On another development 10 opposition parties, excluding the IAF, are running for the elections under a united list. The list is expected to be announced next Monday. ■

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3. Tender No. 8/97: Zarka L.P.G. Filling Station No. 3 Project.

Jordan Petroleum Refinery Co. Ltd., announces A/M tenders invitation for the supply, erection and commissioning of following projects:

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The project includes three mounded L.P.G. storage vessels of 8250 cubic metres total water capacity and two carousels for filling 125 Kgs L.P.G. cylinders with a capacity of not less than 1200 cylinders/hour each, L.P.G. pumps, compressors, L.P.G. semi-trailers unloading/loading facilities, trucks unloading and loading telescopic conveyors, extension of existing fire fighting and cooling system, piping system, all civil works and electrical works related to the installations.

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3. L.P.G. filling station No. 3 project at Zarka refinery site:  
The project includes two carousels for filling 125 Kgs L.P.G. cylinders with a capacity of not less than 1200 cylinders/hour each, L.P.G. pump, aircompressors, trucks unloading and loading telescopic conveyors, extension of existing fire fighting and cooling system, piping system, all civil works and electrical works related to the installations.

The above mentioned works of every project are required on basis of "lump sum fixed price turn-key job".

Contractors who possess experience in the same field, and are qualified financially and technically, and who wish to participate in the above tenders for one or more of above mentioned projects, are invited to submit their prequalification documents, not later than 12.00 hrs of 13/7/1997 at the company's head office, noting that contractors who wish to participate in all of above projects must be at least qualified for "upgrading of Amman L.P.G. filling station project while contractors who wish to participate in any one or both of the other two projects must be qualified for any of them.

Prequalification documents should include the following:

1. Financial capability of the contractor (financial references to be provided).
2. Technical capability of the contractor, including details of experience and background of personnel, specifications of available equipment ... etc.
3. Detailed documents showing similar projects executed by the contractor, full names and addresses of firms for whom such services were rendered, and details of projects including contract cost and completion periods.

Results of prequalification shall be announced and advised to participants as soon as they become available.

Eligible contractors may obtain tender documents from the company's head office at the first circle - Jabal Amman, against nonrefundable J.D. (200) per set for each project, not later than 12.30 hrs of 22/7/1997.

Offers must be submitted at the company's head office not later than 12.00 hrs of 16/9/1997.

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# JORDAN

W E E K



An unconventional report on Jordanian news and views edited by Marwan Al Asmar



His Majesty King Hussein receives newly elected General Secretary of the Israeli Labor Party Ehud Barak at Royal Court Monday. They were joined by HRH Crown Prince Hassan and Prime Minister Mubarak.

## New Upper House speaker appointed

Senator Zeid Al Rifai has been appointed as the new Speaker of the Upper House of Parliament. He takes over from Ahmed Al Lawzi who submitted his resignation earlier this week because of ill-health. Mr Al Rifai is a veteran politician who has long been in government. He served as Prime Minister several times.

In a Royal Decree accepting Mr Lawzi's resignation, His Majesty King Hussein praised him for his long service to the nation. He became speaker of the Senate in 1994. Mr Lawzi was born in Jubeiha, Amman in 1925. Having graduated from the Teacher's Higher College in Baghdad, he became a teacher from 1950 till 1953. Mr Lawzi then went on to have a distinguished career to government service that began in 1956 as head of the Royal Protocol. This lasted till 1961. After a sabbatical in the Lower House of Parliament he rejoined the Royal court till 1964 and was then appointed as member of the Upper House in 1965. Mr Lawzi served as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence four times between 1971 and 1974, as Minister of State for Prime Ministry Affairs in 1964-65, Minister of Internal Affairs and Municipalities in 1967, Chief of the Royal Court in 1978-80 and at the same time as member of the National Consultative Council.

## New office at Prime Ministry

A new inquiry office for journalists is to be set up at the Prime Ministry according to the Minister of State for Information Affairs, Dr Samir Mutaweh. Journalists can send in questions by fax to the Minister which he will then pass to the concerned authorities. Dr Mutaweh says answers to the inquiry should not take more than two hours at the latest. However, he points out that in addition to this service, he will always be available for questioning by the press.

## Human Rights Watch condemns new press law

The New York-based Human Rights Watch charges that the government in this country has placed "unacceptable infringements" on the right to freedom of expression. The 14-page report, *A Death Knell for Free Expression? The new amendments to the Press and Publications Law*, finds that the contents ban in the new press law "clearly designed to impose a regime of self-censorship on the press and other publications, preventing them from carrying news and other information related to domestic and foreign affairs."

Human Rights Watch, which is a non-governmental organization established in 1978 to monitor the observance of internationally recognized human rights in Africa, the Americas, Asia, and the Middle East, calls on the government to repeal the May 1997 law that amends provisions of the Press and Publications Law of 1993. Meanwhile two other international groups are protesting the press law. In a letter by the Committee to Protect Journalists in New York, and the London-based Article 19 urged His Majesty King Hussein to repeal the press law amendments. The groups charged that the amendments violate the right to free expression guaranteed under international law.

## Tawjihi time

For some secondary school pupils it is the dreaded time of year. It's make or break time. Last week 72,387 students began their Tawjihi exams according to the new syllabus put forward by the Ministry of Education. A further 19,827 students are sitting their exams according to the old syllabus. The final results will be announced in July.

## Parties finances

A report on political parties will soon be issued by the Ministry of Interior. The report will provide details of the financial situation of political parties in the light of their annual budgets which they must submit to the ministry in the first quarter of each year as specified by article 20 of the Political Parties Law. Reports in *Ad Dustour* suggest that the budgets of a number of political parties is between JD 700 and 1300.

## Law for professional associations

A new draft law for professional association is being finalized by the government according to *Al Arab Al Yom*. According to the paper one of the articles of the new law bans professional associations from political activity.



Palestinian President Yasser Arafat began a two-day visit to Jordan, Monday. He was received by His Majesty King Hussein and HRH Prince Hassan at the Royal Court. The leaders held a closed session to discuss the latest developments in the peace process. Later, Tuesday, Mr Arafat met Prime Minister Dr Abdel Salam Al Majali and other top Jordanian officials. At a press conference just before he left Amman, Mr Arafat described the talks he held with His Majesty as good. He praised efforts exerted by the King and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to remove obstacles facing the peace process. Mr Arafat said the coordination between Jordan and the Palestine National Authority are at the highest level.

# Minister defends press law

AMMAN (Star)—The Minister of Information, Dr Samir Mutaweh bit hard against the opposition to his ministry's amendments to the Press and Publication Law. In a statement, published in the three daily newspapers, and distributed by the Ministry of Information, Mr Mutaweh, wanted to prove that the press body itself was behind the latest amendments to the press law.

Mr Mutaweh was unimpressed with the opponents to the amendments, describing them as a "minority" whose "loud voice" is "inundating public opinion" which he believes to be the "majority".

He criticized opponents for what he described as "narrow self-interests".

The new amendments to the 1993 Press and Publication Law was ratified three weeks ago, by His Majesty King Hussein, as the temporary Press and Publication Law, 1997. The new law sparked mass protest by the different popular organizations who saw it as bringing the country back to the martial law era.

In several media and press debates, Dr Mutaweh defended the new law. He believes that the amendments protect human rights and ensure individual privacy.

In his statement, Dr Mutaweh began by citing verses from the Holy Quran and the teachings of Prophet Muhammad, that call against "sedition, vice, lies, offending people, crime, blackmail and discrimination."

He used Islamic Sharia to respond to a statement by Mr Abdel Majeed Thuneibat, the overseer of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Mr Thuneibat was reported to have asked Jordanians to write to human rights institutions of the Democratic Party (in USA) to exert pressure on the government in this country to abrogate the amendments to the law. However, Mr Thuneibat's idea was opposed by Lower House Speaker, Said Hayel Al Sroor. This forced Thuneibat to clarify in another statement, that what he meant was "to urge these institutions [of the Democratic Party] to pressure the American government not to restrain our [Jordanian] democracy," as the minister pointed out in his statement.

In his reply to Thuneibat, Dr Mutaweh said "Our democracy is something that concerns our people, it's representatives, it's the press, government and the institutions of our state."

He added that "Our decisions are part of our sovereignty and any view that expresses otherwise sheds doubt on our sovereignty and the independence of our decision."

He added that those who restrain "our democracy" are not Western or foreign parties, but "a group of us who persist in their attempts to transform our democracy...to anarchy that harms all."

Dr Mutaweh added that "these [elements] were warned time and time again but to no avail."

Accordingly, he believes that the government was forced to use its constitutional right to "protect the [democratic] march and put a limit to anarchy" without undermining the freedom whose limits end when [trespassing] on the freedom of others.

of 1994 sensitivities arose between the government and the press.

"No newspaper was taken to court because of tackling the peace issue," Dr Mutaweh said. Most of the court cases, he added, related to offending heads of Arab states, or causing harm to Jordan's relations with Arab countries. He said that a considerable number of these cases dealt with promoting "deviation," publishing false news and/or spreading rumors that cause confusion.

Mr Mutaweh said even the daily and weekly press carried news items that called for a change in the law. He quoted *Al Rai*, *Ad Dustour*, *Al Arab Al Yom*, *Al Subul*, considered as the mouthpiece of Islamists, *Al Hudath*, *Al Urdun*, *Al Ahl*, and other columnists.

President of the Press Association, Mr Saif Al Sharif said Dr Mutaweh's point of view is understood "because he is the spokesman of the government and he must find justifications for laws which is ratified by the state." He added that "we might not agree with the majority of what he wrote but we respect his view."

Mr Sharif explained that the Press Association agreed that there were some violations against the public morals and the national unity by some newspapers. But he disagreed with Mutaweh's approach in taking these violations to lower the ceiling of freedoms in the country.



Mutaweh

# New Palestinian generation feels legacy of Israeli rule

Continued from page 1

by the Israelis since 1967, according to Palestinian estimates, tens of thousands have been wounded by rubber bullets, and more than 1,300 Palestinians have died during run-ins with Israeli security forces in the territories since they began in 1989, according to the Israeli human-rights group B'Tselem.

Families have been scattered throughout the region and the world. A study several years ago by the Gaza Community Mental Health Clinic indicated that 90 percent of Palestinian children age 8 to 14 had been teargassed, either at home or at school or on the street. Yet in an indication of how intertwined the two societies have become, one out of four Palestinian workers crosses into Israel each day when the borders are open, according to United Nations figures. Probably 50 percent of Palestinian men speak fluent Hebrew. For better or worse, the Palestinian and Israeli economies have grown deeply interdependent.

"Life under the Israelis has been an experience that has transformed us," said Khaled, a 28-year-old unemployed man in the West Bank village of Surif.

Many Israelis defend the tough measures of the occupation as necessary, given the existence of such implacable enemies so close to home. No one wanted Israel to become the kind of country that metes out collective punishment and demolishes people's homes and shoots tear gas at children, they say, but it happened in an escalation of violence. "Neither their teaching nor their experience has ever accustomed the Jewish people to exult in conquest," said Army Chief of Staff Yitzhak Rabin two weeks after the Six Day War was concluded, and in the years that followed, the Israelis were to become even more familiar with what Hebrew University professor Yaron Ezrahi has called the many "moral ambiguities and ideological contradictions" that are the realities of conquest.

Today, while negotiations continue fitfully over the future of the West Bank and Gaza, the occupation goes on. For Khaled, in Surif, a hilly town of 15,000 not far from the green line separating Israel from the West Bank, the past few months have been little different from years past. After the bombing of a Tel Aviv cafe that killed three Israelis in March, Israeli forces said they discovered a Hamas cell operating out of the village and issued orders that residents could not go outside of their houses even during the day and could not leave the village except under extraordinary circumstances. (Brief interludes were finally granted to permit shopping for food.) Palestinians called the two-month curfew "collective punishment" of the innocent, but Israelis said such tough measures were necessary to fight terrorism.

The result was severe dislocation and occasional tragedy. Many people lost their jobs. A pregnant woman lost her baby when she couldn't get to the hospital in time after going into labor. The Israelis demolished three houses belonging to the families of the suspected Hamas sympathizers, saying such demolitions, although hard on survivors, are among the most effective ways to deter future bombings.

Today, four years after the Oslo, Norway, peace process began, it has become difficult to gauge whether the occupation is actually ending. Under Prime Ministers Rabin and Shimon Peres, Israeli troops withdrew from most of Gaza and from the major cities of the West Bank. Since Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was elected, the Israelis have also withdrawn from parts of Hebron. Most Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza now live for the first time under at least partial self-rule.

But the peace process is stalled and the occupation only half dismantled. Israel retains security control over 97 percent of the territory on the West Bank and civilian administrative control over 70 percent. Israeli jeeps still patrol the villages and olive fields, and Israeli checkpoints dot the roads. The Palestinian-controlled area is divided into small islands of non-contiguous territory. Border closures continue, keeping tens of thousands of Palestinian workers from their jobs in Israel and barring Gaza students from their universities in the West Bank. Furthermore, more than 150,000 Jewish settlers still live in the territories.

LA Times-Washington Post News Service

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LURIE'S WORLD



## Our Say...

## Looking again at our educational system

IT'S SUMMER time and schools are off. That means over half the population in Jordan will be enjoying the long summer holiday. But how can we ensure that time-off is not time wasted. For the majority of school students, summer vacation is about doing and learning nothing. On the last day at school many students tend to tear off their text and note books and throw them in the streets. That's how negative many of them feel about education. One tends to ask if the problem is in the students or in the educational system itself.

We suggest that for this summer both the Ministry of Education and hundreds of thousands of students do some rethinking and a bit of work. For the ministry an in-depth revision of school curricula is needed. The pertinent question is what do we teach our children and how much benefit do they get out of the present educational system? The ministry decision makers should go back to school, study the textbooks and sit for exams, not in their capacity as officials, but as students themselves. They should place themselves in the students' shoes and see the world as they do. And then ask if our textbooks are up-to-date with what's going on in the world around us. They should look at the language of our textbooks, find the logic behind the way chapters are designed, how illustrations are used and how questions are asked at the end of each chapter. They should talk to teachers and see how they view these textbooks and, more importantly, how they teach them.

They should read exam questions, decide on their clarity and their purpose and then rate our current educational system.

To answer many of these questions, we should also ask ourselves what kind of young graduates do we want for our country as it gets closer to the 21st century? Are we creating independently-minded students who have inquisitive minds and have developed a sense of initiative, or are we just putting them into moulds and in effect making exact copies of each student. Are we learning about them any thing that could help us steer them into the right field of study once they complete their secondary learning, or is our system delivering thousands of achievers who have little idea about what the real world is like outside?

These questions cannot be answered in one summer vacation. These questions should be part of a self-evaluation process that evolves as the whole world does each and every day.

Meanwhile, what can we expect from the hundreds of thousands of students who are enjoying their summer holiday? Do we want them to sit at home, wake up late, watch TV all day long or loiter in the streets? Youth means energy and ambition and again the Ministry of Education along with other government bodies, devise ways to attract these young men and women to get involved in social activities; summer camps, athletics, scouting, serving in social centers, etc.

The private sector has a responsibility here as well. It must shoulder its responsibility by getting involved in such programs that will make the summer vacation a useful one for students where they can learn more about the real world. ■

## 6 June, 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon

## An open-ended anniversary

By Carrie Nelle Moye  
Star US correspondent

FIFTEEN YEARS ago on 6 June, a group of us flew out of Beirut International Airport on our way to a meeting in Istanbul. Although our taxis, quite literally, had dodged sporadic bombing en route to the airport, this was not unusual (most of the world knew of the months of continual air attacks; most Americans did not) and none of us realized this was the invasion which had been threatening for at least a year—the so-called "Peace for Galilee" invasion. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, later proven to be with the full support of Ronald Reagan, and which resulted in the slaughter of hundreds of Palestinian refugees in the camps of Sabra and Shatila, and still later, the fading of Menachem Begin, as a force in Israel.

Fifteen years later, no one would have predicted that there would still be no real peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The subject seemingly has become one of boredom to the majority of people. Yet to those directly affected—Israelis, Palestinians, and others—it remains the number one focus of their lives.

Present Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, quickly forgot the lessons so painfully learned by Menachem Begin. And on this 15th anniversary, Israelis are in the streets protesting vehemently. Why?

Almost two decades after the Camp David accords, six years after the Middle East peace conference in Madrid, and several years after the signing of the Oslo, Washington, and Taba agreements, in a press conference following his summit meeting two weeks ago with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Sharm El Sheikh, Netanyahu pronounced, "This is a first step; a first step means there are more steps." All this, and just "a first step?" Netanyahu's diplomatic phraseology could not conceal the failure of this "last ditch—last chance" effort, as the meeting was widely described by Israeli, Arab, and international observers.

His body language, if not his words, revealed the deep disappointment and frustration of Mubarak. What was at stake in the Sharm El Sheikh meeting was not the final solution of the Middle East problem, nor even partial agreements on marginal problems. It was, simply stated, finding a modus to re-start Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on the entire complex issue of former agreements, especially those of Oslo.

The Egyptian summit was preceded by numerous other "preparatory," "exploratory," "fact-finding" meetings with participants including top US officials, Netanyahu, his head of state Ezra Weizmann, Arafat and team, Mubarak and team, Jordan's King Hussein and team, and European mediators. Negotiators shuffled between Washington, Amman, Aqaba, Cairo, Sharm El Sheikh, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and various European capitals.

If all these years and intensive efforts resulted just in one "first step," how much time will it take to finalize subsequent re-



About 300 Israeli women demonstrated in Jerusalem, Friday, against the continued occupation of the Palestinian territories and south Lebanon. The demonstration was held in remembrance of the 6-day War of June 1967

quired steps, resume negotiations and reach acceptable solutions just on implementing already signed, witnessed and ratified agreements?

And this speaks only of peaceful co-existence between Palestinians and Israelis, not the complex issues left in limbo including the status of Jerusalem, Israeli settlements in Occupied Territories, water rights, and Palestinian statehood. Presently, it is pointless to think of jump-starting the Israeli-Syrian-Lebanese talks to complete the cycle of peace agreements between Israel and all its neighbors—a prerequisite to establishing lasting peace in the Middle East.

This is a pessimistic prognosis. Time is a malignant force challenging peace while allowing radical philosophies on both sides to divide and multiply. The core problem now, as the non-implementation of the Camp David and Oslo Accords shows, lies in the interpretation of specifics, especially as concerns the Palestinian side of the equation. Talks have become a Byzantine debate on minute details, while the broader goals have been shelved. The people who suffer feel they have been forgotten and are losing faith in the entire concept of peace. In their leaders, in the (mainly US) peace brokers. The somber mood is contagious.

War in the Middle East is neither imminent nor feasible, but rumblings are increasing. Talk of war by Israelis and Arabs to break the stalemate may be dismissed as gesturing, but such talk is having its psychological effect on societies, the media, decision makers, and especially the military.

From all appearances, the US is letting matters drift, hoping that the concerned parties eventually will come to terms on their own. Clinton and team apparently have decided to discontinue Warren Christopher's strategy of high-level, di-

rect mediation in favor of a snail pace attitude. This approach would have some merit if the US truly took a neutral stance as an honest umpire. But US attitude clearly is tilted toward Israel, despite occasional murmurs criticizing certain Israeli actions, most notably the settlement policy.

Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton, in varying degrees, all have criticized Israel's annexation policies and settlement activities, but the US has never really tried to dissuade Israel. Clinton's silence on Israeli breaches of international law, the Geneva Conventions, UN resolutions and signed accords is so pronounced even Israeli peace adherents shake their heads. US vetoes in the UN Security Council to prevent censuring Israeli breaches tell all. To remind Clinton of his obligations toward Middle East peace as co-signatory and guarantor, has been, as expressed by a Middle Eastern proverb, "as effective as grinding water."

But Clinton is not the United States; he is the elected leader. He owes it to his country and the world to exercise leadership, wisely and fairly, in advancing peace. If he is neither willing nor able to do so, the large segment of US society interested in Middle East peace must become more active. Not only is it imperative to establish harmony in the Holy Land but the US also must remain mindful of its determination to preserve significant interests that led Bush to muster an international coalition of 40 nations, and almost one million soldiers at a cost estimated at \$150 billion.

If the United States truly seeks peace, Clinton knows precisely how to achieve it. In ancient times, the children of Abraham, Jews and Arabs alike, had over 70 prophets. Today they need just one honest mediator. ■

Middle East Beat  
by Khairi Janbek  
Lebanon and terrorism

PERHAPS THE above title is a memory of the Lebanese civil war, especially now the country has returned to a state of normalcy. Perhaps the terrorism term, as far as Lebanon is concerned, is only used by the media that is hostile to the activities of Hizbollah in south Lebanon.

However, the phenomenon, by and large, was curtailed, or rather, we thought it had, that is until the recent news of the threats of Sheikh Toufaily, a leader of a splinter group from Hizbollah. He is starting a campaign of civil disobedience against the central government, from his base in the Bekaa valley.

Though there is opposition to the current Lebanese government, up till now, most of the constitutional problems, and social issues have been solved through negotiations between the concerned parties, albeit with at times, Syrian intervention. But this new threat coming from the Bekaa may prove a little difficult to challenge, since the campaign of disobedience seems to be supported by large shipments of arms to the area.

This clearly indicates that Sheikh Toufaily's threats may not be limited to passive resistance and non-cooperation, but might take the serious dimension of an armed conflict with the Lebanese government.

In all scenarios on Lebanon, when the Beka is mentioned, the first thing that comes to mind is the large contingent of Syrian troops stationed in the area. It may be plausible that the threatening policy of non-cooperation could have remained as a local issue, with the Syrian presence simply ignoring it until it suited them to interfere as the main arbiter of Lebanese politics. However, the fact that there are armed shipments heading for the area, means much more than a simple Syrian looking away policy, and if it is done under the Syrian gaze, then one would assume that the Lebanese leadership will have to shuffle in haste towards Damascus or Latakia.

Ironically, the date chosen for the instigation, 4 July, coincides with the festivities of US Independence Day. We hope at least in Lebanon, the day will not be marked by live ammunition fireworks. Just at the time when the Pope had delivered his message of hope and coexistence, supported by one million Lebanese from all denominations, a conspiracy of revolt is being hatched now.

Still there is more to come. The representative of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in Lebanon, gave in a press conference his version of military operations by the Turkish army in northern Iraq and concluded with terrorist actions against Turkish as well as Israeli interests in a reference to the Turkish-Israeli strategic alliance.

It is hard to believe that Lebanon actually hosts the PKK let alone sponsors them, and our brethren the Syrians have continuously denied any involvement in PKK armed activities, despite the fact that Turkey has been accusing them of doing so for a long time. Yet, how can one justify the official presence of the spokesman of the PKK in Lebanon, threatening with terrorism in his press conference without, either the Syrian or Lebanese authorities giving any justification?

One must always caution against the policy of escalation, and it seems that there is a constant pressure of raising the stakes especially at a moment in our region when all parties seem to be looking for new alignments and seeking new allies in a dangerous formula of Middle Eastern transient politics.

It is not in the interest of Lebanon to be identified as a cauldron of terrorism, neither is it in Syria's interest to be known as the sponsor of terrorism. One does not seriously threaten anyone with the use of arms, by shooting ones own leg. ■

## Algerian election yields multiparty parliament

By John Daniszewski

ALGIERS. Algeria—Pro-government forces last Friday took the largest share of Algeria's first multiparty parliament amid charges of fraud and irregularity. But two Islamist parties also gained one-fourth of the seats, giving a society wracked by violence a new breath of political pluralism.

"This is a big democratic day... a great day," declared one ebullient leader of the moderate Islamists, Mahfoud Nahad, even as he launched into a tirade about all the votes allegedly stolen from his party. All in all, the delayed replay of Algeria's catastrophic 1992 election was a mixed bag, political analysts and election observers said.

The 65 percent turnout was unimpressive by Algerian standards. Favoritism toward the pro-government camp almost certainly occurred, and parliament itself will enjoy only limited powers with the army and President Liamine Zeroual still firmly in control.

Yet the results gave Islamists and other government critics a voice in governing.

The achievement could blunt the appeal of violent groups who have waged a five-year war of terror against Algerian authorities since Islamists were stopped from taking power when the army canceled the country's first democratic election in 1992.

The distribution of seats was realistic enough to be accepted by a war-weary public, even if "you have to hold your nose a bit," predicted one international monitor with long experience in the country.

The voting was carried out in a war atmosphere. The overriding question was whether, in the long run, it would serve the

interests of peace.

Zeroval's govern-

ment lost no time

claiming it would.

This historic vote,

which was not marred

by any distortion, is

an enormous progress

and a great victory,

an enthusiastic Interior

Minister Mustapha

Benmansour told jour-

nalists.

Zeroval's two-

month-old National

Democratic Rally got

155 seats, or 41 per-

cent of the 380 places.

Known by its French

acronym RND, the

party was backed by

the country's sizable

administrative bureaucracy

and military, and picked

up votes from Algerians

supportive of

Zeroval's policy of eradicating

terrorism while cautiously in-

troducing market reforms.

Opposition parties said

manipulation was a major

factor in its success, and some

foreign election observers were

inclined to agree. Although

the monitors in the country have

not yet issued their final

reports, they said privately

that there were at least strong

grounds to suspect the size of

the RND's victory margin.

One observer said he saw

ballot boxes from army posts

where turnout was reported at

100 percent, and all the votes

were for the RND. In addition,

he said, the ballots had been

folded uniformly and stacked

perfectly inside the box.

In second place was Nah-

ad's Movement for a Peaceful

Society, a moderate Islamic

party formerly known as Ha-

mas. It won 69 seats, or 18 per-

cent of the total. Along with

another relatively moderate,

Islamic-oriented party, Nanda,

which had 34 seats, the Islam-

ists will control 103 seats, or



27 percent of the parliament.

The moderate Islamists

charged that the final tally was

rigged against them but indicated

that they will take their seats

in parliament anyway. Nahad

said he will press for greater di-

alogue, an apparent reference

to the banning of the Islamic

Salvation Front, which would

have won in 1992 and whose

leaders remain in prison.

"To stop the bloodshed, you

need dialogue and agreement

and efficient discussions

among all the political class-

es," he said. Although the Islam-

ist parties turned in a respect-

able showing, other opposition

parties were far more disap-

pointed and strident in their

complaints of vote fraud.

The authority is carrying

out these practices to ensure

its longevity, even to the detri-

ment of the country," said Sa-

lim Saadi, head of the Rally

for Culture and Democracy, a

party opposed to Islamic mil-

litanism, which had been ex-

pected to do better than the 19

seats it obtained.

Charges of irregularities

centered on two categories:

"special voting"—the voting

of soldiers, police, firemen

and other state workers who

voted separately because of

public duties, and "itinerant

voting"—in which ballot boxes

were moved to sparsely set-

tled areas.

Opposition parties said in

both cases they could not

properly monitor the ballot

boxes. In some rural areas,

poll watchers from various

parties complained of being

driven away from voting sta-

tions, even at gunpoint, and

of ballot boxes being opened

or removed for long periods.

What was unclear was

whether the level of vote fraud

was so egregious that it would

lead to a popular outburst or

renewed support for armed

groups who have been op-

posed to the government since

1992.

University of Algiers politi-

cal scientist Mohammed Hen-

na said he thought the election

could be a step toward the end

of violence, as long as the

parliament has a semblance

of pluralism. ■

LA Times-Washington Post  
News Service

## Business scene

The Jordanian stock market is showing signs of recovery after a period of decline. The Jordanian Stock Exchange (JSE) has seen a significant increase in trading volume and prices in recent months.

A number of factors have contributed to this recovery, including improved economic conditions and increased investor confidence.

The JSE has also seen a number of new listings, which has helped to diversify the market and attract more investors.

Overall, the Jordanian stock market appears to be on a positive trajectory, with many analysts predicting further growth in the coming months.

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## Business scene

■ The foreign share of capital in Jordanian companies is 33%, most of it from Arab countries.

A financial study suggested that Arab investments in the banking sector reached 48%, 57% of which is in the Arab Bank, 61% in the Arab Banking Corporation, 41% in the Housing Bank, 19% in the Jordan National Bank, 21% in the Arab Jordan Investment, 5% in the Industrial Development Bank, and 12% in the Cairo Amman Bank.

In the industrial sector the foreign share totaled 22%, Arab investments accounted for 10% in the Tobacco and Cigarettes Co., 3.6% in the Cement Factories, 41% in the Arab Potash and 23% in the Arab Center for Pharmaceutical Industries, 19% in the Jordan Phosphate Mines, and 27% in the Paper and Cardboard Factories.

■ Dar Al Dawa Pharmaceutical Co., hopes to increase its exports to the Iraqi market this year by 55%, in the light of the implementation of the oil for food deal and approved Jordanian contracts to export pharmaceuticals to Iraq.

Its exports to Algeria and Saudi Arabia are also witnessing an encouraging rise. The company's sales last year totaled JD 17.03 million, mostly for Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

The shareholders rights of the JD 6 million company were JD 20 million by the end of last year.

■ Jordan vegetable exports saw a sharp hike in 1996 compared with 1995, estimated at 28,000 tons.

Fruit exports rose by about 11,000 tons. United Arab Emirates imported about 137,000 tons, followed by Bahrain 51,000 tons, Lebanon 50,000 tons, Qatar 42,000 tons and Kuwait 41,000 tons.

■ Jordanian imports of vegetables last year were 83,000 tons, recording a rise of 28,000 tons over 1995. These imports mainly come from Lebanon, Palestine, Indonesia, Turkey and Saudi Arabia.

■ The general assembly of the Jordanian-Syrian Free Zone Co. held a meeting in Damascus to discuss means of enhancing co-operation in investment and ways of creating industrial joint ventures in the two countries. The two sides also stressed the need to increase exports between the two countries.

## Foreign Exchange

Wednesday, 11 June

	Buy JD	Sell JD
US \$	0.7080	0.7100
£	1.1510	1.1568
DM	0.4124	0.4145
SPY	0.4801	0.4825
YRF	0.1227	0.1233
YEN (USD)	0.5624	0.5652
DEL	0.3667	0.3685
LIT (USD)	0.0419	0.0421

# Giving tourism a helping hand

By Iham Sadeq  
Star Staff Writer

TOURISM IN Jordan is one of the most important sources of hard currency. Official statistics suggest that tourism generated \$700 million in 1996.

To boost its performance, the Tourism Ministry wants to improve touristic infrastructure and provide better facilities. It aims to bypass the over 1 million tourists that came to Jordan last year. Despite the setbacks in the peace process that led to the noticeable decline in the number of tourists coming to this country, ministry officials are putting a brave face. They stress that the potential is great.

The development of the tourism sector in Jordan also depends on the performance of the travel and tourism agencies who, through co-operation with the Ministry of Tourism, play an important role in promoting Jordan worldwide.

Mr Lam'i Haddadin, president of the Jordan Society of Tourist and Travel Agents (JSTTA) told *The Star* that "we as a society fully co-operate with the Ministry to improve the performance of the touristic sector, and enhance its competence and productivity for the welfare of the economy."

Haddadin stresses that it is

necessary to end competition from airlines companies to the travel and tourism agencies. Competition within these agencies must be stopped. This can be achieved through the cancellation of the discount these agencies take as a commission. This step aims at increasing income and financial revenues of these agents and support the state treasury.

Jordan is an attractive tourist centre that links different parts of the world. Haddadin says that his society plays an important role in promoting Jordan and in making people of various countries aware of this region.

Despite their role however, travel agencies have been in for a shock. By law they must now raise their capital to JD 50,000. The government says that the 400 agencies in the country are far too high and their number must be reduced. The government's new philosophy is aimed to strengthen the private sector and make sure that only the strong stays in the market. A number of travel agencies have already closed.

This law came into effect last year, but it is only now that travel agencies are beginning to feel the pinch.

Aiming to reduce the burden of implementing the law on some agencies, Haddadin said "I personally helped agencies that were unable to

adjust themselves in accordance with the law, by contributing to the capital and ensuring bank deposits." According to the law this deposit was raised from JD 5000 to JD 25,000 for ticketing agencies and JD 25,000 for tour agencies. This means that those agencies who run travel and tourism offices should now deposit JD 50,000 in the bank. Today, out of 400 travel agencies, there are 267 licensed, while some have closed down.

Hani Suleiman, director of Trans Continents Tours told *The Star* that it is true this law brings tough conditions, but he shares Haddadin's view that the only way to reach a settlement is to continue a constructive dialogue with the Ministry of Tourism.

The two also called on the government to stop giving licences for new travel and tourism agencies, at least for the next five years.

Haddadin pointed to the importance of the national conference on tourism which was due to be held between 13-15, June. Its main objec-



Haddadin

ive is to study all difficulties and obstacles facing the touristic sector in Jordan, to find solutions and make recommendations.

Regionally, Haddadin said that "we are facing competition from international markets, especially from our neighbors."

AMMAN—At exactly the same time that the 1997 Human Development Report is made public to the world in Washington, DC and Bonn, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) will release the report's findings in Amman today, Thursday 12 June at an official ceremony under the patronage of Prime Minister, Dr. Abdul Salam Al Majali.

Best known for its assessment of living standards in some 175 countries, the annually published Human Development Reports are commissioned by UNDP and written by an independent team of scholars and experts from around the world.

Since it was first published in 1990, the Human Development Report has underscored the importance of people-centered development with a strong emphasis on equitable and sustainable economic growth.

Israeli travel agencies are benefiting a great deal. They are offering one-day free Petra visits on their package tours.

Haddadin wondered how much such packages benefit the local tourism industry.

"The opening of the southern crossing point was a political decision, and we highly respect and appreciate such a resolution. But the Jordanian negotiator representing the touristic sector should have given priority to the interest of the tourist industry and the national economy", Haddadin said.

The JSTTA president suggested that the arrival and exit fees from the southern crossing point should be increased: \$100 for arrival and exit fees relating to one-day visits; \$70 for arrival and exit fees relating to two days, one night visit; \$60 for arrival and exit fees relating to three days, two nights visits.

Haddadin urged the government to study these suggestions or propose its own to put an end to the one-day tourism which does not have any positive impact on the economy.

## UNDP officially launches 1997 Human Development Report

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Since it was first published in 1990, the Human Development Report has underscored the importance of people-centered development with a strong emphasis on equitable and sustainable economic growth.

One of the highlights of the report is the Human Development Index (HDI), which ranks countries every year according to three variables—life expectancy, adult literacy and per capita income.

Jordan's ranking over the last seven years has fluctuated between a low of 98 and a high of 73, reflecting, to some extent, its vulnerability to the prevailing economic and political climate. Since 1993, however, it has been slowly climbing up the ranks with a higher HDI value, much in part to the progress it has achieved in education and health.

Last year, Canada topped the HDI ranks, followed by the United States, Japan, Netherlands and Norway. The Arab country with the highest human development was Bahrain with a ranking of 39, followed by United Arab Emirates at 42, Qatar at 50, and Kuwait at 51.

## JOSBA seeks to further Jordan-Swiss relations

THE JORDAN-SWISS Association (JOSBA) is now registered officially with the Jordanian Ministry. JOSBA has a number of objectives.

■ Encourage economic, commercial, scientific and touristic activities between Jordan and Switzerland.

■ The founders of the association hold their first meeting and elected the Board members last week. These are: Mohammad Ibrahim, Muhanna (President), Ernst Laniger (Vice President), Mr. Khassam Abu Zaid (Treasurer), Jabara Khoury (Secretary), Van der Linden (member), Anwar Obaidat (member), Christian Garinman (member).

JOSBA welcomes all persons concerned with above objectives to join the association as active members, supporting members or honorary members. For more details, contact the president of JOSBA at: 06-651366, 635355, Fax: 06-651355, Mobile: 079-27345.

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## Cuban peso at stake

# A dollar for your thoughts

By Pascal Fletcher

IN ONE of Cuba's more secretive Afro-Cuban religions, known as Regla de Congo, Mayombe or Palo Monte, priests would use gunpowder to prepare a spell.

They placed little piles of this powder, known as fula, over ritual drawings and lit them with a cigar. If all or most of the piles caught, it signalled the charm would work. The ignited fula was "opening the way" for the spell.

In today's Cuba the word fula has acquired a new meaning. It is used in Cuban street slang to describe money. Not just any money. Hard currency. Specifically, the United States dollar.

The invasion of the US dollar, with its superior buying power to the Cuban peso, is fomenting a new kind of revolution in Cuba, dividing its society into those who have dollars, a growing group, and those who have not, the majority of peso-earning state workers. This threatens one of the tenets of the Cuban Revolution, once trumpeted by its

leaders: that of social justice and equality.

Like the ritual gunpowder, the US dollar "opens the way" to the communist-ruled island: to hard-currency shops and tourist installations, to consumer goods and services unavailable in Cuban pesos. In short, to a richer life style.

The decision to allow Cubans to use hard currency, announced by Fidel Castro in summer 1993, was perhaps the most influential of all the economic reforms introduced in Cuba during the past five years.

Combined with an influx of foreign businessmen and tourists, and with the slow emergence of a self-employed sector, the unrestricted circulation of the US dollar is changing the face of Cuban society.

It has shattered the carefully calibrated egalitarianism of Cuba's society during the Soviet bloc years, which was built on a uniform national food rationing system and subsidised prices. Privileged groups, mostly linked to the hierarchy of political power, did exist, but the basic relationship between wages, income and prices was the same

for the majority of citizens.

Castro stresses the economic necessity of the 1993 measure, but has often lamented its impact. "It hurt, it really hurt. We were aware of the inequalities and privileges it created. But we had to do it," he says.

After years of lambasting Cuba's Yankee imperialist arch-enemy, the US, he has had to accept the Yankee dollar as a de facto national currency circulating alongside the Cuban peso.

Castro says the move was unavoidable to "save the revolution". In other words, to help the island and its one-party political system survive a deep economic recession triggered by the collapse of the Soviet bloc and made worse by tightened US trade and a financial embargo.

The government needed (and still needs) to lay its hands on every dollar it could find to pay for essential oil and food imports. The use of hard currency by Cubans had been illegal but a huge dollar black market flourished, inaccessible to the government. The solution? Legalise it and get the dollars out from under Cubans' mattresses and into the state coffers.

The authorities set up a network of hard currency shops selling basic consumer goods such as cooking oil, clothes and the subsidised peso stores, these now extend across the island.

The value of the dollar has fallen from the high black market rate of 150 Cuban pesos reached in mid-1994, but it still packs a more powerful buying punch than the national currency. It is at present worth about 22 pesos. This differential remains disruptive and has turned work categories and their respective incomes topsy-turvy.

Jose, who is 28, used to work as a doorman at a state discotheque, earning 120 pesos (about \$6 at the current rate) a month.

Now he washes foreigners' cars outside an office block in Havana. With luck, he can earn \$5 or more in tips during one week, which gives him a monthly income of around \$20, a princely sum by Cuban standards.

He swapped his disco doorman's clothes for the tatty, grime-stained shorts and T-shirt he uses while swabbing down cars. But he has no regrets. "Who can live off 120 pesos a month? At least this way I'm getting somewhere," he says.

Pedro, a former trained electrician with a wife and two children, is another who has made the switch from the peso-earning state sector to dollar entrepreneurship. He left his 265 peso-a-month electrician's job and now bakes guayaba and coconut pies which he sells at \$1.50 each at offices and work centres. "At least this way I'm making a decent living," he says. He is saving up to join family members in Spain.

Through hard currency tips from foreign customers, waiters working in tourist hotels and restaurants can multiply many times the monthly peso wage of teachers and doctors, the pride of Cuban society.

A wealthy class, millionaires by Cuban standards, is emerging. Their hard currency

income can derive from a variety of non-state sources: remittances sent by family members, income from renting homes to foreigners or fees paid to artists and entertainers.

Alarmed by these income differences and cases of corruption involving hard currency, the authorities seem to be trying to restore a measure of socialist-style equality.

Lending teeth to an ideological campaign against "mercantilist psychology" and "consumerism", the government has borrowed a redistribution mechanism long-established in capitalist societies: taxation. Income tax has been reintroduced after a 30-year absence, and the authorities now tax all hard currency income except remittances sent from abroad. Peso salaries remain untaxed.

Reaction to the taxes, which the government says it uses for the country's free health and education system, is grumble most often heard.

Nevertheless, the "dollarisation" of the Cuban economy seems to be increasing. In cities like Havana, where tourism and foreign business is high, 50 per cent or more of the population are reported to have access to hard currency.

Sales of goods and services in hard currency rose 18 per cent to \$627m (£384.6m) in 1996. Since 1995, Cubans have been able to hold hard currency bank accounts, and government foreign exchanges will change dollars into pesos and pesos into convertible currency. One-third of Cuba's workforce now receives some kind of hard currency incentive on top of a peso salary.

Cuba's leaders say the circulation of the Yankee dollar is a necessary evil which will not last forever. To salvage national pride, the government has issued a parallel convertible peso at a one-to-one rate with the dollar. The next step will be to reduce Cuba's three currencies US dollar, convertible peso, national peso to the two pesos.

The final goal is a single, internationally convertible Cuban peso, but this will require the full recovery of the Cuban economy and an end to the US financial and economic embargo of the island.

Financial Times Syndication

## Business Chronicle

### Big could be beautiful

THE ECONOMIC game today as interpreted by the government is capital concentration and streamlining of enterprises. In today's world, the phrase big is beautiful, is being implemented on the local level. Larger companies are better equipped to deal with the distortions and bottlenecks in the economy, it is argued. For the government, the idea is to induce greater economic performance.

It has become a prerequisite for banks, insurance and tourism companies to make changes that are seen as necessary to boost performance, improve services and cope with worldwide challenges and competition.

In the banking sector for instance, the Central Bank of Jordan (CBJ) asked all authorized banks to raise their capital to JD 20 million, by the end of this year. Some banks, encouraged by incentives from the CBJ to merge, have concluded mergers—the Business Bank and Jordan National Bank is one. If the 26 operating banks in Jordan are reduced by even a handful, then it will create stronger financial institutions that can be run and be managed successfully.

The CBJ's recommendations to raise banks capital may be positive, but can the case be true with the insurance sector?

In 1986, total insurance companies in the country was 33, but because of continuous losses, the government wanted to reduce their losses by forcing them to merge.

Encouraged by incentives, the number of insurance companies has been lowered to 17 in 1994. This was the result of a law prohibiting the establishment of new insurance companies. Also, this law now calls on these firms to raise their capital to JD 2 million before the coming November.

Some were strong enough to increase their capital while others merged. However, there are still nine companies, unable to adjust themselves, and the question now what will be their fate of they fail to either merge or raise their capital before November. Last year, six insurance companies suffered losses especially in the compulsory car insurance branch. In 1995, these losses totaled JD 4.5 million.

Today it is the turn of travel and tourism offices who are now obliged to increase their capital to JD 50,000. They could face closure if they don't put up. (See main story)

## Lyonnaise Des Eaux opens regional office in Amman

THE FRENCH water group, Lyonnaise Des Eaux, has opened a regional office for the Middle East and North Africa in Amman. Its regional director is Jubran Owayshek.

The company has chosen Jordan as its headquarters because of its strategic location to the rest of the Arab countries.

Lyonnaise Des Eaux is not new to the Arab world. It has offices in Beirut, Gaza, Amman and Tunis. The company has just signed a contract to distribute water, electricity and the treatment of public water in Casablanca, a city with a population.

Lyonnaise Des Eaux has been in operation for more than a century. It is involved with building infrastructure and providing services to different municipalities. Today, more than 40 percent of its work is carried outside France.



## Boutiques

Kareman & 2 KAREMAN  
Janard  
THE GERMAN FASHION HOUSE

مجمع جبر التجاري شارع مكة

Al-Jaber Shopping Center

Mecca Street

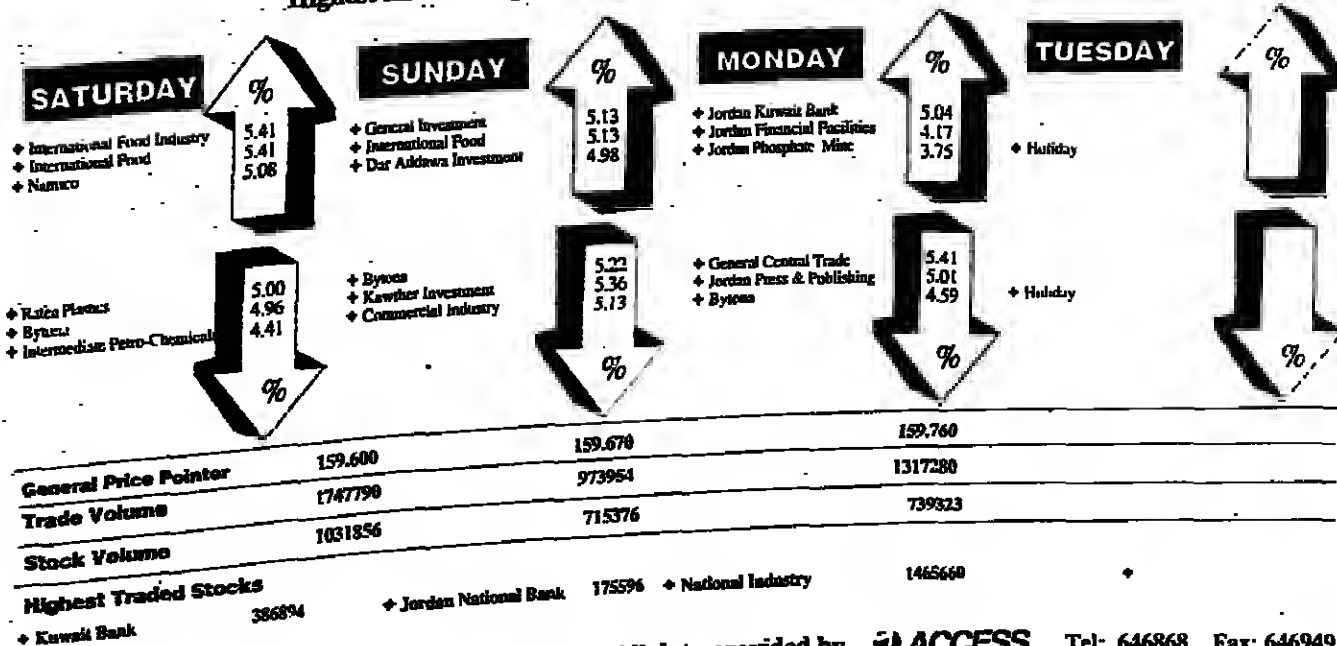
Tel. 828163, 821656, 079-32125

The Star  
645380 - 652380

## MARKET WATCH

7-9 June

Highest and lowest performing stocks in the Amman Financial Market



All data provided by ACCESS Tel: 646868 Fax: 646949





### Their Royal Highnesses opens Taibyet village

THEIR ROYAL Highnesses Prince Faisal Bin Al Hussein and Princess Alia Al Faisal opened the Taibyet Village in Al Wihdat, East Amman, last week.

The Taibyet village is a unique tourist site, modeled on ancient Islamic and Arab architecture. The site has extensive entertainment facilities and revives the traditional social atmosphere, particularly of Ramadan. Al Fitr and Al Adha Eids and other celebrations that mark national and religious occasions.

The visitor can enjoy shopping at the "Souk" which displays traditional handicrafts.



## Renovated North Theater promises to lighten festival

By Anca de Maio  
Special to Star

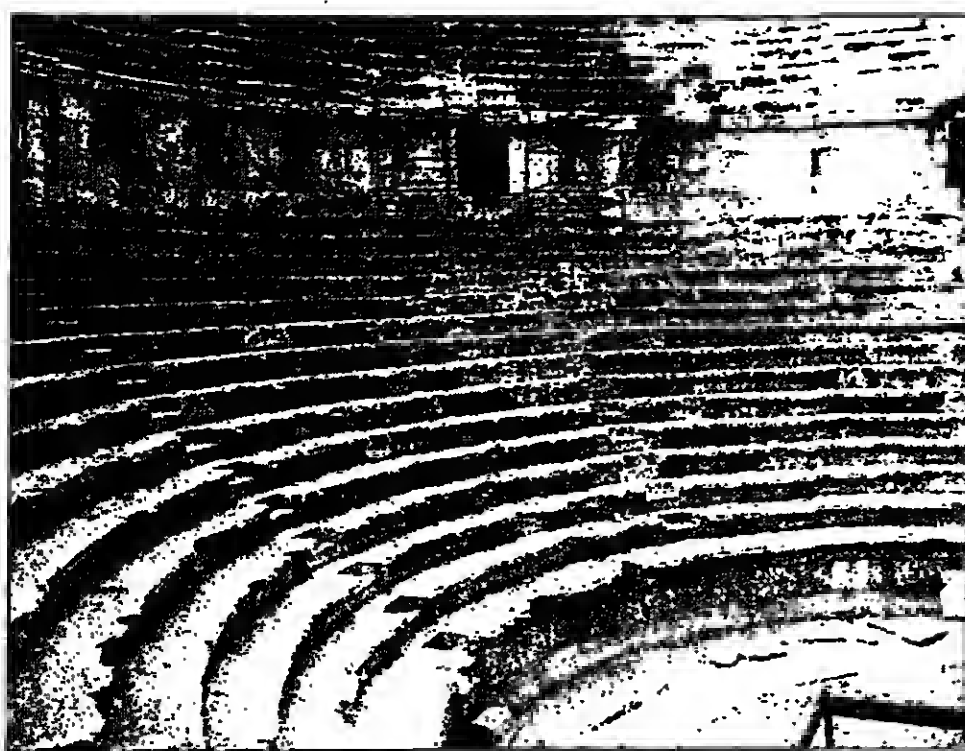
The echo of music and dramatic declamations in Jerash's North Theater long faded away with the decline of the Roman Empire. However, 17 centuries later, the newly renovated theatre is ready to take its place on the occasion of the 16th Jerash Festival of Culture and Arts. On 24 July, the stage that once vibrated under the feet of those still mysterious performers inspired and protected by Apollo the Roman deity of music and art, will be reanimated by the exuberant talent of young dancers and musicians from Europe, South and North America and the Middle East.

This great cultural event has been made possible by the remarkable restoration work carried out by a 30-member team headed by Abdel Majeed Majali, a restoration expert at the Antiquities Dept., and director of the location of the Jerash Festival since its inauguration in 1981.

"The first festivals were held only in the South Theatre. Other places like the Forum, Artemis Steps, the Tetrapylons and Garcia gradually started to host the ever increasing events of the festival," Mr Majali said. "Now that the North Theatre is to be opened next month, we shall next concentrate on the Hippodrome, the arena near Hadrian's Gate that the Romans used for horse shows," he explained.

Built in 162 AD as an auditorium, the North Theatre was expanded into an amphitheatre a century later. This was by the addition of a stage and an eight-step upper level. The facade was framed by four high Corinthian columns (and two corners), the sign of the importance of the place, the expert pointed out.

The Amphitheater was completely neglected during the austere Byzantine period. Partly dismantled into construction stones for churches and cathedrals, it was turned into a water container in the long



Renovated North Theater

run. The North Theatre collapsed under the vigorous shakes of an earthquake in 747 AD. Buried seven meters underground by the wind, rain and time, only the top of its upper level was visible in 1982, when the Antiquities Dept., in collaboration with American, British and Australian experts started excavation on the site.

In 1986 Mr Majali's team made up of technicians, constructors, putters and experts in Jerash archeology started the restoration of the theatre faithfully respecting the sketches of the original site. With a

four-year interruption from 1991 to 1995, the restoration work underwent several slow and fast stages. The lego-like assembling process included cleaning the stones, assigning them numbers, sticking the broken pieces together, replacing the missing original stones with similar new ones, rebuilding the completely broken stage, reconstructing the stairs that lead to the second level and restoring the fit alabaster circles designed for the arches on the ground arena beneath the stage.

Four wonderful bas-reliefs have been dis-

covered on the symmetrical walls of the two lateral entries, each projecting from a square surface the silhouette of an instrument player. On the right side corner, the (savagely beheaded!) figure of Apollo playing the harp and the profile of another character playing the flute can be seen, while the left side is adorned by the elegant figures of a drummer and a flutist.

Moreover several Latin inscription could be noticed on the background of the stage under the niches that once used to be covered with glass mosaic. A beautifully carved inscription on an unadorned stone testifies to the participation of the Armenian legion of the Roman army in the building of the theatre.

The last touching-up to be done before the opening of the festival concerns the floor of the backstage and the cloakrooms. Two wooden cloakrooms are to be added to the two original ones only for the 20 days of the festival. Temporarily, two sound and light control rooms will be installed as well.

Solid and safe, the North Theatre is in a way the most completed place of the whole complex. "The entrances are very well done, and once closed, there is no other way of getting inside the theatre," Mr Majali pointed out. "The access to the second floor by back stairs, as originally conceived, will avoid crowding at the lateral entries," he added.

The restored North Theatre, ready to accommodate almost 2000 people, is a great archaeological achievement that will contribute to the reinforcement of the public awareness of the history of the place as well as of the importance of the Jerash festival. "The archeology of Jerash has become more and more appreciated by both tourists and Jordanians. As a matter of fact, many local families and their children have got the habit of coming for a walk on the site whenever they have some spare time," Mr Majali pointed out.

### THE FAR SIDE

By GARY LARSON



In the corridors of Clowngress



"Hey! It's Frank and Cindy! ... Haven't seen you folks for a while."



Custer's recurrent nightmare



Tantor burns up on I-90



Tantor burns up on I-90

## Horizon charts course with optimism

THE MEMBERS of the Board of Management of Horizon Advertising & Communications Network met in Athens earlier this month. The Agency, which has offices in Athens, Amman, Beirut, Cairo, Dubai, Jeddah and Kuwait, had chosen "Planning for the 21st century" as the theme of this year's meeting.

Presiding over the two-day conference, Rafic Saadeh, chairman, said "Although we hold 'meeting-of-the-mind' workshops at least once or twice a year this one turned out to be particularly stimulating. We made a frank and critical assessment of the existing realities and



defined our strategies for the future. The next millennium will pose more complex marketing communication challenges. And we should be ready for

them well in time."

The Agency has already set in motion an ambitious high technology drive by establishing interactive communication links between its network offices and the international partner agencies.

This makes it possible to share vital information on media plans, research, product data etc., as well as exchange creative concepts, guidelines and artworks. The on-line access enhances accuracy and efficiency while reducing communication time and expense.

Says Rafic Saadeh, "To excel in creative and other agency disciplines, we need to increasingly work as trans-agency teams, utilizing all our talents and resources across offices and countries. A network sans borders, that's what the 21st century demands".



Isabelle Adjani at the Cannes festival

## CKbe is now at Abu Shakra's outlets

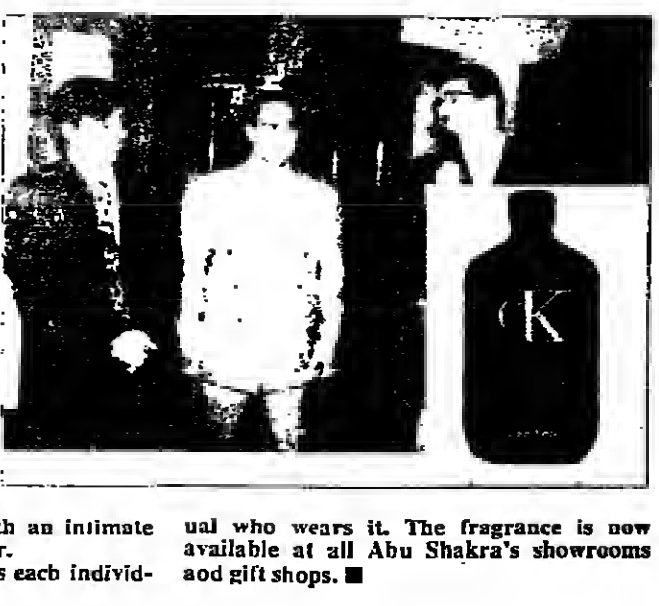
IT BEGAN with CK ONE which gave us the freedom to define ourselves by the things that matter to us. We became ageless, raceless and genderless. CK believes in the same world where in individuality and the freedom to express it are essential.

Mr Raed Abu Shakra presented the new fragrance attended by Mr Joseph Fraiha and Ms Mabelle Abinader from Calvin Klein and Mr Rami Abu Shakra.

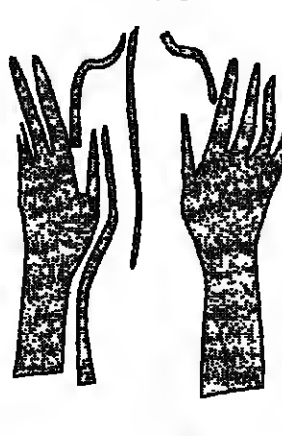
CKbe fragrance is about who you are. It is about the freedom to express your individuality. It is about the freedom to be yourself.

CKbe fragrance is a unique fresh tonic musk with an intimate scent that invites people closer.

CKbe scent is as distinct as each individual who wears it. The fragrance is now available at all Abu Shakra's showrooms and gift shops.



### Valentina Body Massage Center



### Valentina Body Massage

Dear Sir/Madam:

Valentina Body Massage Center is happy to announce its summer opening. Starting June 10 1997, we invite you to come and experience the skill and expertise of our massage therapists.

Massage therapy is a proven medical practice by which tension on the body and mind that could be caused from long hours of driving or sitting at your office be remedied.

Massage therapy is the safest and quickest possible way to relief you of the daily pressures that could be formed from living in a hectic and stressful atmosphere. Our skilled and educated staff will ensure that you get the best and the most up-to-date treatment available including neck and head massages to ensure maximum satisfaction.

We invite you to come and visit to get an idea about our center and the different services we offer. Our prices are the most competitive around including special rates for the upcoming summer months.

Valentina Body Massage hopes to see you soon,

Thank You and have a nice day!

Sweinen Opp - Turino Hotel - Tel 862521

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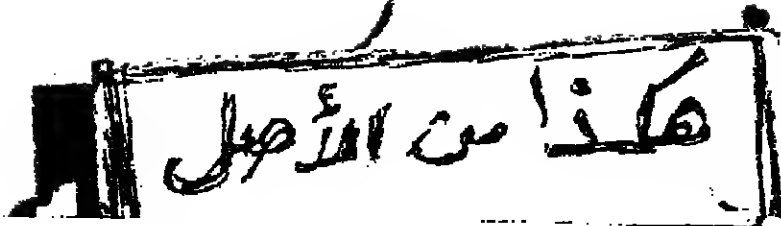
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JUNE 1997  
A special section offering  
fresh perspectives on  
global issues prepared for  
The Star

# THE WORLD PAPER

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ON FIVE CONTINENTS



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China still trying to banish ghosts while saying they don't exist

## Tiananmen takes on a life of its own

### ► Communist leaders driven to capitalism

By Wu Zhong

IN SPITE OF GREAT EFFORTS by China's leaders to erase any public memory of the bloody crackdown on student demonstrators at Tiananmen Square, the events of June 4, 1989 continue to color all aspects of policy-making in the Middle Kingdom.

Ironically, without the crackdown—which is widely regarded as a victory for the communist hardliners—the late Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms and open-door policy might not have gone as far, and as smoothly, as they have during the past eight years.

Reform, which had been slowing prior to 1989, almost ground to a halt right after June 4 as the new leadership hesitated in its aftermath. They were further shell-shocked by the sudden collapse of the Soviet empire which followed soon after. But the two events proved to be eye-openers for the Chinese leadership. This was especially true of patriarch Deng, who realized quickly enough that without efforts to keep improving people's lives, China's communist leadership might not be able to sustain its grip on power.

Deng, who launched the bold economic reforms a decade earlier to preserve communist rule, concluded that the only way to achieve his goal was to move forward even more relentlessly. The occasion he chose to put fresh impetus into economic reform, and the corresponding policy of encouraging foreign contacts, was an inspection trip to the south of China, during which he warned officials that the nation faced a dead-end road without further reform and opening up.

Bypassing empty and useless ideological arguments about capitalism and socialism, Deng encouraged officials to take even bolder measures to develop the economy. The line he took with the

officials meant, in essence, "anything goes." Western sanctions to protest the June 4 crackdown also forced China to open its door wider.

To break such sanctions and lure badly needed capital, China had to open more of its markets—such as real estate, retail and banking—to foreign investors. It also required opening a bigger share of the domestic consumer market to products of overseas-invested enterprises. Post-1989, radical reforms and "opening up" measures aimed at building a capitalist-style economy met with little resistance from the

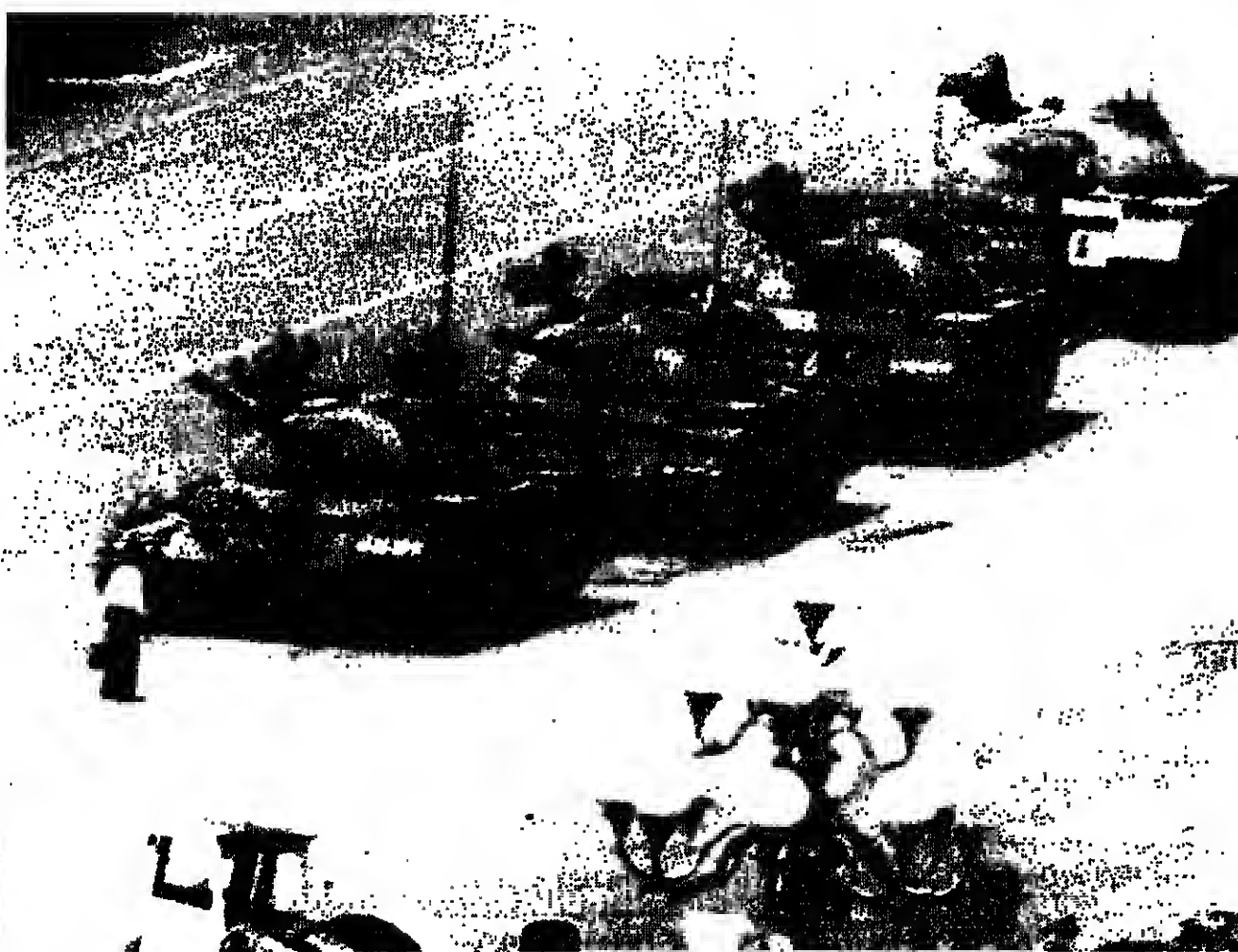
hardliners. Without the sharp lessons of the June 4 demonstrations and the collapse of the Soviet empire, this would not have happened. Consider the sad fate of two former Communist Party general secretaries Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang. Both were undermined and pulled down in succession by the conservatives precisely because they had open-minded thinking and undertook radical reform measures.

Since the Tiananmen crackdown, however, economic restructuring has been pushed so far that today no one can—or dares to—reverse the course. The people are never going to give up what they have gained. In political and

social life, too, June 4, 1989 has had a marked effect on policy-making. The post-Deng leadership has stepped up the fight against official corruption, one of the key demands of the 1989 demonstrators. Although achievements have been far from satisfactory, at least something is being done.

The current Communist party boss, Jiang Zemin, described the anti-graft drive as "a struggle which is concerned with the life or death of the party." In the legal field, too, the effects of June 4 are evident. China has revised the criminal code, replacing the controversial

Stone breaks scissors. But scissors cut paper and paper wraps stone in the time-honored game of bluff, and China's leaders are learning that these rules apply on a bigger scale. They broke the student movement that occupied Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989, but ever since then, the public relations 'paper' those students cut out during those heady three months have been wrapped around the Communist Party's stone fist



"counter-revolutionary crime" with "subversion" and giving it a more specific definition.

China has also introduced a new law on national defense. This stipulates that the armed forces—the Chinese People's Liberation Army—will not normally be mobilized to handle domestic riots—though it is not totally banned.

Needless to say, progress in these fields is rather slow—and falls far short of expectations—when compared with economic growth. But it is enough to show that June 4 has not been forgot-

ten. The tragedy has left an imprint, and will continue to influence the direction of China's development in spite of different interpretations by different parties.

So the blood shed on the night of June 3-4, 1989 in Beijing has in a sense stimulated, directly or indirectly, all the changes in China over the past years—for better or worse. Many of these were not even anticipated by the students at Tiananmen, who for the most part were demanding the state respect some vague ideals.

This course of action, however unwillingly it was taken, has helped the Chinese authorities to stabilize the society, and to silence dissenting voices without arousing great opposition at home. The changes have also provided the leadership in Beijing with the foundations of their increasingly hard-line stance on human rights, a stance taken in defiance of Western criticism and accusations. ☐

WU ZHONG is *The Hong Kong Standard's* SENIOR WRITER ON CHINA.

### ► Courage, to what end?

By Crocker Snow Jr.

IT'S BEING BILLED AS the 20th century's single biggest fireworks display. And people in Hong Kong, China and Macau have the front row seats. What's on the tip of everyone's tongue is the June 30 changeover of Hong Kong from a British crown colony to full Chinese

sovereignty. But what sits heavy on everyone's mind is the equally

fiery—and more fatal—episode that took place not in Hong Kong, but in Beijing precisely two thousand, nine hundred and forty-four days earlier.

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) action on June 4, 1989, when it rooted out the Student Democracy movement that was squatting in Beijing's central Tiananmen Square, remains a symbol of China's mailed fist raised above the spot control that accompanies its resumption of control over Hong Kong. It's a symbol with a life of its own, an event like the ones at Sharpeville, South Africa in 1960, the Vietnamese village of Mai Lai in 1968 and the 1983 massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon; events leavened and livened by the telling, ones whose associations and consequences are far more important than what actually happened.

For all its vast grandeur, with the Great Hall of the People on catty-corner from the first outer gate of the Forbidden City, Tiananmen Square itself remains stained by metaphorical if not actual blood. One cannot stroll the square today without reflecting on the masses of tents, the bustling, intense students and busy international TV crews that decamped there. These, along with the reclusive Chinese leaders and hidden fax machines, were the lead actors and key props for what happened in the middle of the night eight years ago.

Brief visits to Hong Kong, Macau and Beijing last month, on the eve of the June 30 changeover, underscored how enduring and undeniable "Tiananmen" is to the different mainland Chinese constituencies. Old friends in Hong Kong cite it but want to forget it. Friends in Beijing dismiss it. Acquaintances in Macau, the Portuguese colony just over the horizon from Hong Kong that is scheduled to return to Chinese sovereignty two years from now, don't want to be reminded.

Just how much the Chinese authorities will clamp down on individual freedoms, and whether press freedoms and the right of assembly will be curtailed, is more immediate and more central for Hong Kong's six million residents than how much the Chinese student democracy movement suffered—or still suffers today.

"Sure, as we look ahead Tiananmen hangs over us, a cloud, a dark reminder," remarked one middle-aged Hong Kong professional. "I don't worry for myself so much. I'm practical. But I worry for some of Hong Kong's inexperienced and impressionable students who are accustomed to protest about little things, almost like the rites of spring."

Today, residents of Beijing will discuss Tiananmen a little more openly than ever before. For many it's already part of contemporary history. "The students then wanted too much too soon," observed one new acquaintance who has made a lucrative business out of a university student travel agency. "They embarrassed too many government officials. They forgot their

Two who were there point to economic reform

## 'Now the private sector's treasure is almost equal to that owned by the state'

Song Lifang and Juntao Wang both lived through the events in Tiananmen Square and later came to the U.S. Juntao, already a 13-year veteran of the Chinese democracy movement at the time, helped the students organize and was exiled to the US after serving more than four years in jail. Song Lifang, a student at the time, was confined to his native village for his part in the events. The *WorldPaper's* Omar Younes interviewed the two men in Boston last month.

**WORLD PAPER:** Were the students in Tiananmen Square looking for a solution or trouble?

**JUNTAO:** Some radical students believed we needed blood and sacrifice to set up a new, democratic country. But I think most hoped for peaceful reform of the political system.

Actually, in 1989 the situation was very good because the reformers controlled all the power—economic, so-

cial, and political. After 1989, the hard-line leaders cleaned out all the reformers because they thought they were dangerous for Chinese Communism. Some intellectuals think that the Chinese lost the best opportunity to reform their political system peacefully in this century.

When the Chinese government decided to crack down on the students, most people thought: "This is a criminal act committed by the mainland government." Then, in 1992 Deng decided to give the Chinese people more oppor-

tunity to develop their economic interests. The Chinese people began to change their minds [about Tiananmen]

and began to blame the student leaders. Now they thought the students just wanted to be famous; that they didn't really struggle for democracy.

I don't agree with these opinions. At that time I knew all the student leaders. I think they were immature and not deliberate about their strategy. They were very young. Maybe they were excited by the media attention—but they didn't know the huge

fame they had in the Western world and those that came here were very surprised.

**WP:** Some say the demands were mainly for changes in the university and judicial systems, not human rights or democracy?

**JUNTAO:** In general, the demands focused on inflation and corruption. People complained that the government could not solve the problem of inflation, and that they could not influence the policies and the government's behavior (corruption). For intellectuals, teachers, journalist the focus was very clear—political reform.

**SONG:** As far as I know, all the demands made by the students were directly related to general rights.

They did urge the government to take actions to stop the corruption among the government officials and give more freedom to the people—specifically freedom of the press. The more freedom people have to say what

#### THE STUDENTS IN TIANANMEN DEMANDED:

► That the government negotiate with them, a step it was unwilling to take because of the implications for freedom of speech and assembly.

► That the government respect the constitution, which grants citizens rights—such as due process and petitioning their rulers—that in practice cannot be exercised.

► That the government clamp down on corruption, especially the "dual price" system that allowed state-run enterprises and officials access to commodities that they resold for huge profits.

► That the National People's Congress, a legislative body, formulate national policy instead of the Communist Party.

manure and not deliberate about their strategy. They were very young. Maybe they were excited by the media attention—but they didn't know the huge

they want to say the less possible it is for the government to do some dirty dealings behind the scene.

**WP:** Was there organization among the students?

**JUNTAO:** There were three groups of students. The Western world focused on only one. The first group did not represent the student community because they organized by themselves, without elections. Students favored the second—negotiation—group that was [elected].

The third group, I think about 300 students, went to Tiananmen square May 13 for a hunger strike. As a result, the square became the focal point of the upheaval. Although the smallest group, their behavior attracted huge attention from the whole country. So they became the "leaders"—but nobody actually elected them.

**WP:** Were there real negotiations?

**SONG:** The Chinese Communists

► PRIVATE TREASURE PAGE 2

► TO WHAT END? PAGE 2



## A GHOST IN THE MACHINE

PRIVATE TREASURE  
Continued from page 1

believe there is nothing wrong with killing people if they compete with you for power. Unlike the western countries, they have never negotiated with internal rebels. As a person brought up in China from the time of elementary school I was told it is not wrong for you to kill people because you want to grip political power. Remember late Chairman Mao's famous saying that, "political power comes out of the barrel of a gun."

WP: What if Tiananmen happened today?

JUNTAO: I think the government would be overthrown.

SONG: The government is more cautious than before. They have tightened their control on the people. They will rule out every possibility that could spark such a movement.

That is especially true after the death of Deng because the new leader Jiang just inherited power and he is not sure people will accept him or not. In order to grasp power, he has to be stronger and control the dissidents. So Jiang has to control the mass by hard-line tactics. He is a naive leader. He doesn't know what to do in terms of leading the country. He is selfish. He wants power. That's all he cares about.

But in terms of making a decision to use military force and ordering them to kill, the decision cannot be made because nobody has as much power as Deng did. If the movement built up to a certain scale it would be more tough for them to deal with. And, in this sense, it's unlikely to end up in tragedy.

WP: Have things improved now since 1989?

JUNTAO: The situation is better. Much better. It's the reason why the Chinese people began changing their minds about the students. Just yesterday I met some intellectuals who also took part in the demonstration and received punishment from the government. They said: "Okay, June 4th was

a tragedy, but if those students controlled the country the situation would be worse!"

SONG: There have been some changes because of the economic reforms, not because the government wanted to give more freedom to the people. Maybe you could not own business before and now you can—that doesn't mean people can vote to choose their leader.

Students do have more flexibility to

aspects of the Chinese Communist Party. And if we achieved something significant, it is this. People are aware of the basic human rights they have been deprived, something they weren't able to recognize until then.

WP: Is it true that, while there have been no official reforms since 1989, a great deal of political change has occurred?

JUNTAO: Yes, actually there are a lot of political changes. I think there are a

In the future there will be political reform because the young generation leaders have the new idea about the politics.

WP: What about the criticism that some dissidents are trying to cash in on—and exaggerating—their involvement?

JUNTAO: I think they aren't intentionally giving the wrong story. There were many people involved and when you are young it's natural that you think you were very important or more im-

TO WHAT END?  
Continued from page 1

history, even Mao's lessons about patience and perseverance about a journey of a thousand miles...

A Chinese official whom this diarist has known over the years had another slant. "What happened, happened. But it wasn't as violent, it wasn't as bloody as the world was led to believe. The fiction became much bigger than the fact."

The man, who was more sympathetic than not with the student democracy movement, has a point.

The conventional wisdom is that the PLA, unprovoked, used tanks to massacre and run down hundreds of Chinese students peacefully camped in Tiananmen Square. This only approximately what actually happened.

The students had been camping in the country's central square for almost three months. The boldness of their passive action had attracted the western press. Their success in April 1989 in upsetting a state visit to Beijing by then Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, then at the height of his "perestroika" fame, brought them more attention.

It was the first official visit to the People's Republic by a Soviet head of state in 30 years, and the students' action was acutely embarrassing to China's more cautious Communist leadership. This legitimized the students as they began to attract more supporters, more support and much more Western press attention. Their vague early demands began to become unconditional.

Thus the context as the Beijing spring deepened in 1989. The face-off became pointed between an embarrassed government and an emboldened student movement. Provincial and territorial army units were called in to the outskirts of Beijing to intimidate. It didn't work.

The government's saber rattling to defuse the crisis was shattered by the sympathies of the international press and courageous actions of a single, never identified Chinese student standing in front of a column of PLA

tanks on one of Beijing's central avenues. The students with their own modest agenda had become the hot focus of the world's attention and a pawn in an internal political fight within the Chinese hierarchy.

With this past as prologue, army units began to squeeze the square in the middle of the night on June 4. The students were warned to evacuate. And in fact they did. The indelible image of the army shooting students and tanks crushing them in Tiananmen Square itself never happened—in fact, the tanks were filmed rolling over empty tents. The bloodletting was in

the streets fanning out from Tiananmen.

The initial reports of several thousand students killed were overblown. Careful analysis affirmed that something less than half the breathless casualty figures first

circulated were the actuality. Chinese officials insist that more than a hundred Chinese troops were killed by the supposedly unarmed students. Certainly some students were armed. Certainly some troops shot others who were shooting at students during the rout.

These are the bloody details. But the symbols are more important than the substance. As much as any contemporary incident in the world today, Tiananmen has a life—and mythology—of its own. It traumatized China for a time, and created a "pre" and "post" benchmark for the country's gradual Open Door evolution.

It is a litmus test for China's actions and attitude regarding internal dissent from this point forward.

CROCKER SNOW JR. IS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF *The World Paper*.

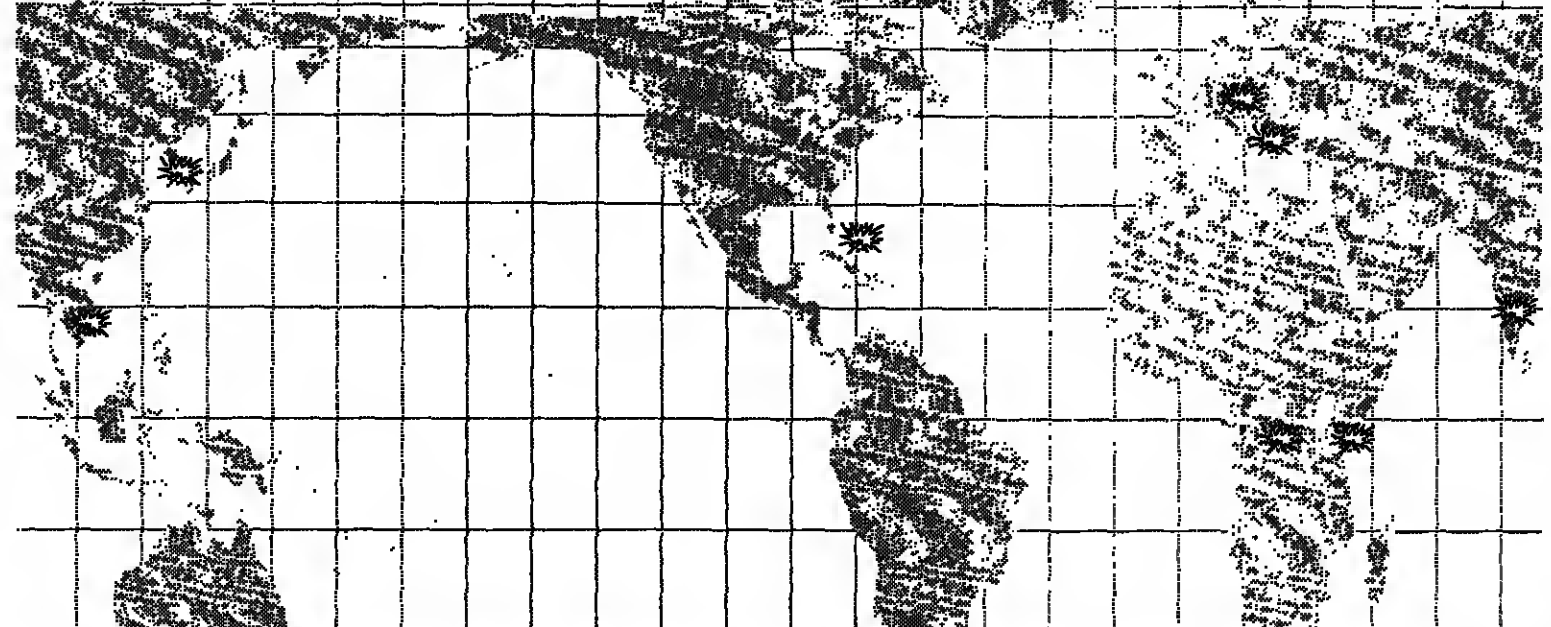
**THE WORLD PAPER**

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Student protest and action are part of the natural order of things. In the 1980s, students staged demonstrations in New York and Paris in an effort to end the Vietnam War. A decade later Japanese students fought to halt the construction of Tokyo's Narita Airport. At the start of the 1990s, Chilean students put pressure on Augusto Pinochet to end his long dictatorship. Today, a new generation of students are carrying the water for social change. This map illustrates a few of the flashpoints in the past three months. In that time, students in Zaire and Albania have taken to the streets to push for new governments. German students have rallied in Hamburg for the environment, Cambodians to change the education system and South Koreans to protest corruption. Several Kenyan students have died fighting for political reform, and two Indian student leaders paid for their political beliefs with their lives—both were shot.

choose what they study because the government is reducing their subsidies and gradually adopting the Western system of education where students pay for their own tuition. Again, this is a result of economic reform; it's nothing to do with what was being asked for at Tiananmen.

WP: In terms of non-economic things, press freedom and human rights, do you think China has improved?

JUNTAO: Now in China you can research any paper; nobody pays attention to you. You can say Deng was bad in the street and police don't arrest you. The people would say, "That guy is crazy to speak empty words in the street. Why doesn't he go and earn some money?"

SONG: The human rights record—I cannot say there is any change for the better. If anything, it's worse.

From a historical point of view, though, the events in Tiananmen Square made people aware of the oth-

er of group rights in politics. Independent civil society developed very fast just because of the economic reform.

The Chinese government withdrew from many aspects of society. Now the private sector's treasure is almost equal to the state owned. It means government cannot control as much.

The government let people complain about the local government. China is very big and most people only care about their area and don't understand the central government. Now the central government doesn't want to defend local government.

WP: Will this continue?

JUNTAO: Only one person could have stopped it, Deng and he is dead, so yes. Now the government has two directions it can go. One is democracy and the other is economic reform. They have chosen economic reform. Now, if they stop all reform they will be overthrown by people.

portant than others.

But we also needed some heroes to get the Western world to notice. Also the movement gets support because those images also support the beautiful movement. If someone should represent the movement, I think it should be those students because they fought in Tiananmen Square. They were at the center of the hunger strike, and also the media attention.

Chinese people know the political game in China. The really important figures are always behind the scenes; they never stand on the stage. This is different from American politics. In China, you cannot stand on stage if you are a senior person because the government would crack down on you.

But students are seen differently. They're given more latitude. So sometimes intellectuals and other democrats like to promote students' movement to take advantage of this. I think American journalists missed this.

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## ENGLISH PROGRAMS

## SATURDAY

8:30-9:00 AM - Holy Kostas  
9:00-9:30 AM - French Programs  
9:30-10:00 AM - Global World Spect  
Special  
10:00-10:30 AM - Immigrants  
10:30-11:00 AM - Till  
11:00-11:30 AM - Holy Kostas  
11:30-12:00 PM - French Programs  
12:00-12:30 PM - French News  
12:30-1:00 PM - New Headlines  
1:00-1:30 PM - Russian with CP  
Copper  
1:30-2:00 PM - Magazine for the  
2:00-2:30 PM - Prison  
2:30-3:00 PM - Time Trav  
3:00-3:30 PM - News on 1st  
3:30-4:00 PM - Music  
4:00-4:30 PM - Football Match  
4:30-5:00 PM - Football Match

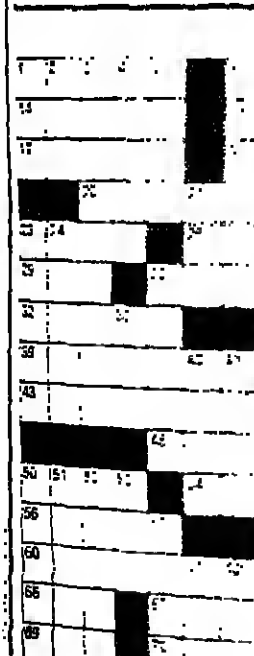
## SUNDAY

8:30-9:00 AM - Holy Kostas  
9:00-9:30 AM - French Programs  
9:30-10:00 AM - Global World Spect  
10:00-10:30 AM - Energy Express  
10:30-11:00 AM - Our World  
11:00-11:30 AM - American  
Show  
11:30-12:00 PM - French Programs  
12:00-12:30 PM - News on 1st  
12:30-1:00 PM - New Headlines  
1:00-1:30 PM - French Programs  
1:30-2:00 PM - Chinese  
2:00-2:30 PM - The Current  
2:30-3:00 PM - Russian  
3:00-3:30 PM - Football Match  
3:30-4:00 PM - Football Match  
4:00-4:30 PM - Holy Kostas  
4:30-5:00 PM - Holy Kostas

## MONDAY

8:30-9:00 AM - Holy Kostas  
9:00-9:30 AM - Holy Kostas

## CROSSWORD



ACROSS  
1 George  
6 Sun  
10 Cuba  
14 London  
15 Australia  
16 Pod  
17 Moscow  
18 Denver  
19 Moscow  
20 France  
21 Spain  
22 Egypt  
23 Center  
24 Rege

DOWN  
2 Haze  
3 Haze  
7 U.S. flag  
8 Wined  
9 Spain  
11 Paris  
12 Math course  
13 U.S. flag  
14 Spain  
16 George

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# The Star's TV GUIDE

Programs on JTV from 13-20 June

## ENGLISH PROGRAMS

**SATURDAY**  
 3:30—Holy Koran  
 3:35—French Programs  
 4:00—Gillette World Sport Special  
 4:30—Innovation  
 4:50—Tilt  
 5:15—Blue Heelers  
 6:00—French Programs  
 7:00—French News  
 7:30—News Headlines  
 7:35—Hangin' with Mr. Cooper  
 8:00—Magazine Zero One  
 8:30—Prism  
 9:10—Time Trax  
 10:00—News at Ten  
 10:30—McGyver  
 11:05—Football Match (Paraguay vs. Ecuador)

**SUNDAY**  
 3:30—Holy Koran  
 3:35—French Programs  
 4:05—Global Family  
 4:30—Energy Express  
 4:50—Our world  
 5:15—American Chart Show  
 6:10—French Programs  
 7:00—News in French  
 7:30—News Headlines  
 7:35—Fresh Prince of Bel Air  
 8:00—Cinema, Cinema  
 8:30—The Churchills  
 9:10—Renegade  
 10:00—Football Match (Bolivia vs. Peru)  
 12:00—One West Waikiki

**MONDAY**  
 3:30—Holy Koran  
 3:40—Spirou



Murder She Wrote, Monday at 8:30 pm

4:05—Neighbors  
 4:30—In The Wild  
 5:00—Tilt  
 5:30—Blue Heelers  
 6:10—French Programs  
 7:00—French News  
 7:30—News Headlines  
 7:35—Murphy Brown  
 8:00—Discover Magazine (Doc.)  
 8:30—Murder She Wrote  
 9:10—Highlander  
 10:00—News at Ten  
 11:30—The White Verdict  
 11:15—Homicide

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- Philadelphia I (Tel: 634149): *The First Wives Club*
- Philadelphia II (Tel: 634149): *Ballo / Dante's Peak*
- Plaza (Tel: 699238): *Naser 56 (Arabic) / The English Patient*
- Concord I (Tel: 677420): *Jerry Maguire*
- Concord II (Tel: 677420): *Spacejam*

(Doc.)  
 10:00—News at Ten  
 10:25—West Beach  
 11:15—Drug Wars

**WEDNESDAY**  
 3:30—Holy Koran  
 3:35—Football Match (Mexico vs. Costa Rica)  
 5:00—Tilt  
 5:30—Bordertown  
 6:00—French Programs  
 7:00—French News  
 7:30—News Headlines  
 7:35—Grace Under Fire (Comedy)  
 8:10—Soldier's Diary  
 8:30—Challenges (Local talk show)  
 9:10—Spencer for Hire (Drama)  
 10:00—News at Ten  
 10:25—Land's End  
 11:15—American Gothic (Doc.)  
 1:05—Football Match (Peru vs. Venezuela)

**THURSDAY**  
 3:30—Holy Koran  
 3:35—Football Match (Mexico vs. Costa Rica)  
 4:00—Out of This World  
 5:00—French Programs  
 7:00—French News  
 7:30—News Headlines  
 7:35—Step by Step  
 8:00—World Echu  
 8:30—The Oprah Winfrey (New Talk Show)  
 9:10—Kang Fu  
 10:00—News at Ten  
 10:30—Feature Film: *Taken Away*  
 1:05—Football Match (Peru vs. Uruguay)  
**FRIDAY**  
 3:00—Holy Koran  
 3:05—Leo the Lion (Cartoon)

3:30—Wish Bone  
 4:05—Neighbors  
 4:30—Winners Down Under  
 5:15—Varieties  
 5:30—French Film  
 7:00—French News  
 7:30—News Headlines  
 7:35—Family Matters  
 8:00—The Health Show  
 8:30—Hawkeye (Drama)  
 9:10—500 Nations  
 10:00—News at Ten  
 10:30—Mini Series  
 12:00—NBA Games  
 1:35—Football Match—America Cup (Mexico vs. Columbia)

## PROGRAMMES EN FRANÇAIS

**SAMEDI**  
 3:30—Dessins animés  
 Arsène Lupin  
 6:00—Série policière  
 Sœurs froides  
 7:00—Le Journal  
 7:15—Magazine  
 L'œil de Colomb

**DIMANCHE**  
 3:30—Dessins animés  
 Arsène Lupin  
 6:00—Magazine  
 Faut pas rêver  
 7:00—Le Journal  
 7:15—Magazine  
 Ziva

**LUNDI**  
 3:30—Dessins animés  
 Arsène Lupin  
 6:00—Documentaire  
 Pégué  
 7:00—Le Journal  
 7:15—Magazine scientifique  
 Cinq sur cinq

Programs are subject to change by JTV

## Highlight of the week at the Pleasure Dome

● *A Time To Kill*: "One of the Year's Most Powerful Films!"  
 Superbly Acted and Extremely Compelling."  
 Jeffrey Lyons, "Sneak Previews" ABC World News Now  
 Ellen Roark (SANDRA BULLOCK), an energetic, ambitious and razor-sharp Boston-born law student at "Ole Miss," determined to assist Jake (MATTHEW MCCONAUGHEY) in the legal proceedings, drawn to the case ... and to take himself ... without recognizing the risks inherent in both.  
 The trial of Carl Lee Hailey (SAMUEL L. JACKSON) sparks a cauldron of conflicting emotions from a kaleidoscopic range of Mississippians - white and black, poor and privileged, Klan members desperate to regenerate their dying "glory," civil rights activists anxious to keep their cause moving forward - a microcosm of a unique place in the American landscape where time is no longer standing still.  
 As Jake fights to defend Carl Lee, his own life and the safety of his family and colleagues become increasingly jeopardized. And now, as a full-scale conflagration simmers just below the surface and threatens to explode in this small, Southern community, Jake and Carl Lee must find a way to transcend their fundamental differences and work together for the same cause ... equal justice.



## Video Releases

Superior Releases from Warner Brothers!

■ *Surviving Picasso*: The amazing story of the even more amazing character. Starring Sir Anthony Hopkins as Pablo Picasso, the film depicts the charismatic and passionate life of this genius and the women spell-bound by him.

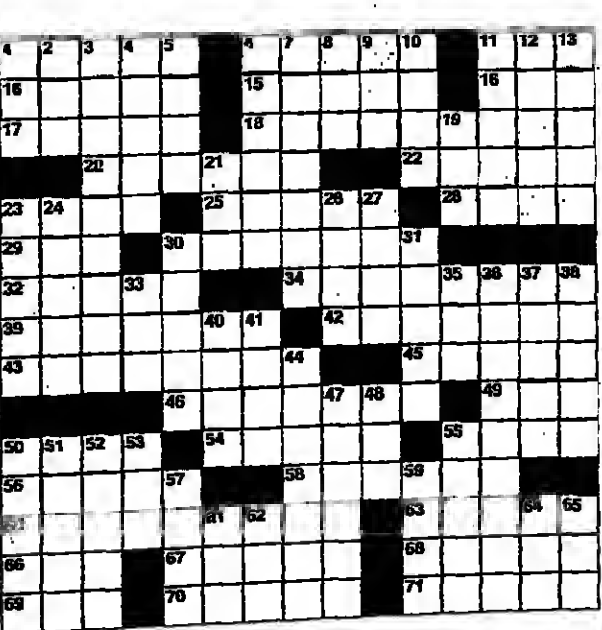
■ *Michael Collins*: The tale of the patriot whose bravery and unwavering dedication to the Irish people changed history as it made him into a legend. Liam Neeson, Stephen Rea, Aidan Quinn, Alan Rickman, and the formidable Julia Roberts prove in a fire proof manner their abilities in this moving feature.

■ *The Glimmer Man*: The desperate hunt for a serial killer has just gotten tougher for lap homicide detectives Cole and Campbell: they've become partners! This searing thriller starring Steven Seagal and Keenan Ivory Wayans promises packs of action and wits.

■ *It's Cup*: Kevin Costner is back again in a big way! If you thought that Golf and Golfers are boring, then this film will change your mind; Costner and Rene Russo get involved in a clever full of laughs battle of the sexes ... a must see. Directed by Ron Shelton (Bull Durham, white men can't jump).

Courtesy: "The Pleasure Dome"  
 Tel: 676558 - Fax: 5538087

## CROSSWORD PUZZLE



- ACROSS**  
 1 Georgia city  
 11 Cruise metal  
 14 Upstairs  
 15 Automobile  
 16 Pod  
 17 vegetable  
 18 married partner  
 19 mismatch phrase  
 20 Football team  
 22 Eagle's nest  
 23 Zoo  
 25 Certain religion  
 46 "Green" kind of lettering device  
 48 Spanish uncle  
 50 Dog name  
 54 Syrian president  
 55 Small neighborhood  
 56 January in Jarze  
 60 Together  
 62 Exported  
 66 Modern prot. desert animal  
 68 Insignificant  
 69 Attempt  
 70 Escape by artifice  
 71 Win by
- DOWN**  
 1 Small rug  
 2 Burrows or  
 3 Covered wagon of old  
 4 Cornucopia molding  
 5 Bird of Hawaii  
 6 James - ("Matt Dillon")  
 7 Like some rights  
 8 TV network  
 9 Animal park  
 10 Scallion  
 11 - bouffe  
 12 Tree product  
 13 Devoured  
 19 Pro -  
 21 Compete  
 23 Indian state  
 24 French city  
 26 Length times width  
 27 Blackbird  
 30 Obligations  
 31 Way of speaking  
 33 Owl  
 35 South Fr.  
 36 Singing voice  
 37 Comedian  
 38 Murphy  
 39 Hall U.  
 40 Actress  
 41 Moreno  
 42 Iowa city  
 44 Made certain of  
 47 Bovine  
 48 Wedding vow  
 50 Boss's play  
 51 - "Sanctum"  
 52 Lure  
 53 Spanish gold  
 55 Broaden  
 57 At any time  
 59 Family member  
 61 Fresno's state abbr.  
 62 Flightless bird  
 64 - "a girl"  
 65 Adios, briefly

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## —THIS WEEK'S— HOROSCOPE

By Linda Black

**Weekly Tip:** Start a business. Not only will it be profitable, it'll also be fun. Mercury goes retrograde, causing a traffic jam. Leave early.

**Aries (March 21-April 19).** Do your hills so you can forget about them. You may be drawn into a fascinating conversation from which you don't want to emerge.

**Taurus (April 20-May 20).** You're strongest now, so take decisive action. You'll run into stiff competition, but you'll probably win. Watch out for confusion or lies.

**Gemini (May 21-June 21).** If there's something you need for your room, ask a Taurus to help you get it. You'd spend too much otherwise.

**Cancer (June 22-July 22).** Don't rely on your partner too much. He or she will be wrong more often than usual. Stay ahead by memorizing important material yourself.

**Leo (July 23-Aug. 22).** If you're not in the job you want, you should be. You'll learn a lot from your friends and neighbors.

**Virgo (Aug. 23-Sept. 22).** You're looking very good. If your plans for romance don't go through, it's not your fault. Be patient and you may still succeed.

**Libra (Sept. 23-Oct. 23).** Pay your bills. If you forget one of them, you'll be in trouble. Instead of buying what you want, save your money. You'll need it.

**Scorpio (Oct. 24-Nov. 21).** Meet with your team and set priorities. You'll be kept busy complying with bureaucratic requirements. Get that stuff handled, so you can take on a fierce competitor.

**Sagittarius (Nov. 22-Dec. 21).** Take careful notes, you'll be tested on trivia. You can get a little help from your friends - let them know what you need.

**Capricorn (Dec. 22-Jan. 19).** You are very lucky but hold back just a little. Don't give up if you run into a delay in achieving your dream.

**Aquarius (Jan. 20-Feb. 18).** If you share costs with a friend you can get something you both want. Figure out how to do that. Get out for an intellectual adventure.

**Pisces (Feb. 19-March 20).** You'll learn best if you set priorities. Pay bills and other expenses. If you need a loan, apply for one.

**If You're Having a Birthday This Week:** Push for a huge objective this year. You may not get all the way there, but you'll get a lot closer.

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## Bridge

Play Or Defend?  
 By Omar Sharif and Tannah Hirsch

Both vulnerable. South deals.

**NORTH**  
 ♠ J5  
 ♥ AK10863  
 ♦ J9  
 ♣ J96

**WEST**  
 ♠ 64  
 ♥ J7  
 ♦ AQ64  
 ♣ K8543

**EAST**  
 ♠ 2  
 ♥ Q942  
 ♦ K10B752  
 ♣ Q7

**SOUTH**  
 ♠ AKQ109873  
 ♥ 5  
 ♦ 3  
 ♣ A102

The bidding:  
 South West North East  
 2♠ Pass 2♥ Pass  
 2♠ Pass 3♥ Pass  
 4NT Pass 5♠ Pass  
 6♠ Pass Pass Pass

Opening lead: Ace of ♠  
 Study all four hands in the diagram above. After the lead of the ace of diamonds and a diamond continuation, would you rather declare or defend six spades?

The spade slam is not a difficult one to get to after an aggressive demand bid. The auction shows is for those who use two clubs as the only strong

bid. If those are not your methods, just start at the second line of the auction.

With only one sure entry to dummy, it might seem that the slam depends on an even heart break. Ruff the diamond continuation, cash the ace of hearts and ruff a heart high. Cash the ace of trumps and return to the table with the jack, drawing the last outstanding trump. But when West shows out on the third round of hearts, you must lose a club - down one.

Declarer can improve considerably on this line. Ruff the second diamond high, cash the ace and king of hearts and ruff a heart high to discover the 4-2 division. Now lead the three of trumps and, when West follows with the four, finesse the five! When that holds, ruff another heart, enter dummy with the jack of trumps and take a second club discard on a long heart.

Making six odd.

However, don't be in too much of a hurry to elect to declare - the defense South leads a low trump toward the board's J 5. West must insert the sixspade! That forces the jack, and declarer does not have another low trump with which to reach dummy's five. No matter how declarer twists and turns, the defenders must get a club for down one.

Let's hope the all who chose to defend did so for the right reason!

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## Jumble

Unscramble these four words, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

KHIER  
 WYOH  
 OCCRAD  
 YURELS



WHAT THE COMEDY CLUB WAS KNOWN AS.

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Answer: A C O M E D Y

Answer: What the comedy club was known as - A HOUSE OF CARDS.

Answer: HIKER SHOW ACCORD SURELY.

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## Would You Believe...

Kangaroos use their tails to push off the ground and jump.

The tortoise generally has a longer life span than a human being. Tortoises can live more than 80 years, while a human's life expectancy is 70 to 80 years.

The planet Venus also is referred to as Lucifer, the morning star.

France's Louis XIV was only 4 years old when he became king.

Brazil takes up nearly half the land area of South America.

The Pacific Ocean takes up nearly one-third of the earth's surface.

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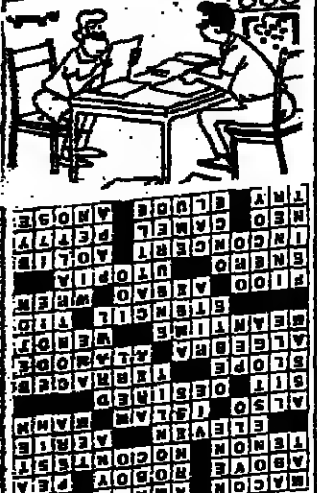
## Orbit sports to air the Royal Ascot meeting live

VIEWS TURNING into Orbit-ESPN's live coverage of the Royal Ascot will have the opportunity to savor what is without doubt the finest four days of Flat thoroughbred racing in the world. Coverage runs from Tuesday, June 17 through Friday, June 20.

Tuesday's action will commence at 12:45 pm GMT, with the St. James' Palace Stakes as the highlight of the day. Day two airs live from 12:45 pm GMT with all eyes on the runners in the Coronation Stakes.

The main highlight of the Ascot Meeting is the Gold Cup live on Thursday, June 19. It will be the main race of "Ladies Day" starting at 12:45 pm GMT. The final day's racing on Friday, June 20 will air from 12:45 pm GMT, bringing to a close what is not only a sporting event, but a social gathering of Royalty and the aristocracy.

Orbit-ESPN Sports will return with the best in European racing live on Saturday, June 28 at 1:00 pm GMT with the Pretty Polly Stakes live from the Curragh in Ireland followed by meetings from Newmarket and Newcastle starting at 1:50 pm GMT. Then on Sunday, June 29, starting at 1:15 pm GMT, Doncaster and the Curragh are the venues for a great afternoon's racing, featuring the Irish Derby from the Curragh.



LEISURE  
 IS THE MOTHER  
 OF PHILOSOPHY.

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# Le Jourdain

Supplément en français du Star

## Des étoiles pour judaïser les yeux des Egyptiens

● L'étoile de David est partout. Certains journalistes égyptiens la voient dans les petits trous des passeroies, dans le logo publicitaire d'une lessive ou même sur la robe d'une artiste. Pour le journal hostile à l'Etat hébreu Al Arabi, c'est «une opération planifiée pour judaïser les yeux égyptiens». L'hebdomadaire s'indigne notamment de l'apparition de l'actrice Safaa Abou Saoud devant le président Hosni Moubarak (voir notre photo) avec une robe représentant les drapeaux américain et israélien. En fait, la journaliste a confondu les bandes bleues de la bannière étoilée avec celles du drapeau israélien. De même, pour Al Arabi, le logo de la lessive Ariel n'est autre que l'emblème sioniste. Faix, rétorque le chef des relations publiques de la société, «choisi il y a 45 ans, notre sigle représente un atome pour signifier que les particules de notre lessive sont comme des atomes pulvérisant la saleté avec la force de l'énergie nucléaire». «Voir en toute étoile à six branches un emblème sioniste relève de l'analphabétisme culturel», souligne pour sa part un architecte, fabricant de meubles de style islamique. Il rappelle que «de telles étoiles existent depuis toujours dans des églises et mosquées égyptiennes». Il est vrai que cette étoile n'a été reconnue comme un symbole du judaïsme qu'au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle.

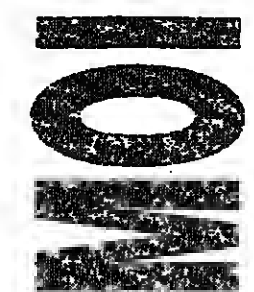


## Relations israélo-jordanien

# Le chantier de la paix n'avance plus depuis un an

L'arrivée de Benjamin Netanyahu au pouvoir en Israël voilà un an a marqué un tournant dans les relations israélo-jordanien. Après l'ère de confiance réciproque qui a suivi la signature du traité de paix, les Jordaniens ont assisté à un revirement de politique de la part de l'Etat hébreu. Israël semble aujourd'hui privilégier avant tout sa situation intérieure.

## SELON



## La polémique

autour de la loi temporaire sur la presse et la publication montre à quel point le royaume hachémite souffre de la manière dont les acteurs politiques gèrent des problèmes de société cruciaux. Le syndicat des journalistes jordaniens, par exemple, s'est abstenu d'agir en temps utile pour faire respecter un code d'honneur journalistique à ses membres. En revanche, le gouvernement s'est empressé d'imposer cette loi sans consulter ni le Parlement, ni le comité du syndicat des journalistes. Et les présidents des syndicats professionnels ont pour leur part choisi de démissionner, exprimant ainsi dans une attitude négative leur mécontentement.

Il faut reconnaître qu'en l'absence de mécanismes démocratiques stables de régulation, seul le dialogue est susceptible d'améliorer l'atmosphère politique et d'éviter les situations poussées à l'extrême.

C'est pourquoi on ne peut que regretter la tendance des formations politiques à traiter les questions nationales à travers des slogans et sans déployer les efforts nécessaires pour résoudre les problèmes posés.

De même, les comités des syndicats professionnels exploitent le statut privilégié de ces associations, les transformant pratiquement en tribunes politiques, et ce aux dépens à la fois de l'action professionnelle et de celle des partis politiques.

Pour consolider le processus démocratique dans le pays et rendre la vie politique plus équilibrée, il faudrait donc rationaliser le comportement des acteurs politiques. Mais étant donné que les choses se décident toujours en termes de rapport de force, il est par conséquent nécessaire de regrouper les forces démocratiques et libérales en un seul courant politique, afin de faire prévaloir le poids de ce courant dans la vie politique et sociale. Cela est d'autant plus urgent que les autres courants politiques sont organisés, ou bien en train de s'organiser.

La Jordanie a tout intérêt à ne pas être gouvernée par un courant conservateur. Une politique conservatrice ne pourrait en effet pas tenir compte des aspirations des Jordaniens au progrès et aux libertés démocratiques, et finirait par créer des tensions sociales.

Les forces démocratiques et libérales sont apparemment conscientes de cet état de fait. Elles ont en effet déjà entrepris des discussions pour dégager la formule adéquate convenant à leur action commune. C'est sans doute un pas important.

Néanmoins il est aujourd'hui prioritaire de définir l'attitude qu'il convient d'adopter pour la campagne électorale en cours, car la nouvelle assemblée sera chargée de façonner la vie politique pendant les quatre années à venir.

Russe Abu-Rumman

**Le Jourdain, on y revient.**  
Tous les jeudis dans le Star  
**645 380**

## Un an après la nomination

de Benjamin Netanyahu en Israël, l'inquiétude et l'incertitude ont remplacé l'optimisme et la confiance. De plus en plus, les partisans de la paix en Jordanie se heurtent au cynisme des opposants à cette cause. Pour ces derniers, il n'y a rien à attendre d'un Etat qu'ils considèrent encore comme l'ennemi sioniste.

Bien sûr les acquis de la paix sont plus remarquables que les accrocs. Mais comment ne pas parler de ces erreurs qui risquent à tout moment d'entraver le cours du processus de paix, voire de le faire dériver. Il est en effet toujours plus facile de détruire que de construire. Selon le proverbe arabe, un fou peut facilement jeter une pierre dans un puits, mais cent hommes sages ne peuvent pas la retirer.

Rappelons que la signature du traité de paix entre la Jordanie et Israël tenait surtout à deux facteurs. D'abord, il y avait un respect mutuel entre le Roi Hussein et Yitzhak Rabin, alors Premier ministre d'Israël. Ensuite Yitzhak Rabin comprenait bien la complexité de la situation jordanienne, et il était prêt à trouver des compromis pour augmenter le crédit des défenseurs de la paix en Jordanie. Une politique qui a permis aux deux pays de surmonter des crises après la signature du traité de paix. Ainsi, M. Rabin a accepté de suspendre l'expansion d'une colonie en Cisjordanie après l'intervention personnelle du Roi Hussein.

Après l'assassinat de Yitzhak Rabin, il était difficile de rétablir une telle entente entre les

dirigeants des deux pays. Pendant la campagne électorale de 1996, Shimon Pérès, le successeur de Rabin, voulait rassurer les électeurs. Il s'est montré plus ferme sur les questions de sécurité. Il a notamment refusé de suspendre le bombardement du Liban en avril 1996 pendant la visite de son homologue jordanien Abdel Kurim Kabariti, qui cherchait à jouer les médiateurs dans le conflit israélo-libanais. Pour les dirigeants jordaniens, le message était clair : Shimon Pérès trouvait les considérations électorales beaucoup plus importantes que l'entente avec son voisin arabe.

Trois idées fausses Face à cette position pourtant jugée insultante à Amman, la Jordanie a préféré attendre les résultats des élections. Après la victoire du Likoud, le Roi Hussein a été contraint de consentir la paix avec Benjamin Netanyahu qui se montre encore moins à l'écoute que son prédécesseur des besoins de la Jordanie. Et dès son accès au pouvoir, il fonde sa politique sur trois idées fausses.

1. M. Netanyahu sous-estime le besoin du gouvernement jordanien de rester crédible auprès de son opinion publique. Or le pouvoir hachémite doit sans cesse rassurer le peuple et lui montrer que la paix, et la normalisation des relations avec Israël sont les bons choix.

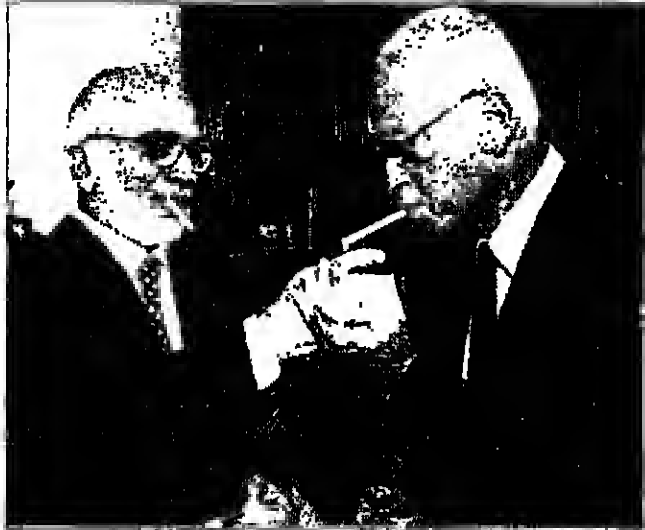
2. Le Premier ministre israélien ne croit pas que la Jordanie soit contrariée par les événements en Cisjordanie. Le gouvernement du Likoud semble diviser la société jordanienne en deux catégories. D'un côté, les Transjordaniens, favorables à la paix, quoi qu'il se passe de

l'autre côté du Jourdain. Et de l'autre, les Jordaniens d'origine palestinienne ainsi que les islamistes, opposés au traité de paix, mais sans aucune influence sur les décisions du pays. Certains penseurs israéliens s'imaginent même que le comportement de leur gouvernement envers les Palestiniens rencontre la satisfaction tacite des Jordaniens. De fait, Israël sous-estime dangereusement la force des liens qui unissent les Jordaniens et les Palestiniens.

3. Pour M. Netanyahu, les Arabes, y compris les Jordaniens, sont incapables de réagir à la politique d'Israël. Du coup, les Israéliens se permettent de refuser tout compromis, car selon eux, les Arabes accepteraient avec le temps leur politique du fait accompli. Une fois de plus, cette logique ne tient pas compte du point de vue jordanien.

M. Netanyahu est finalement peu obnubilé par une grande vision pour son pays. Sa politique étrangère est dominée essentiellement par des considérations internes, et surtout le maintien des factions extrémistes dans sa coalition. Le besoin de rassembler ces factions ne lui laisse qu'une marge, de manœuvre très étroite, ce qui l'éloigne de la direction courageuse et visionnaire adoptée par le gouvernement d'Yitzhak Rabin. Cette stratégie arrive encore à réduire au silence les critiques des Etats Unis, l'allié le plus important de l'Etat hébreu, mais pas celles de l'Europe. Et même au sein du lobby sioniste américain, l'inquiétude envers la politique d'Israël est croissante.

Du côté jordanien, le gouvernement comptait sur les ef



Le roi Hussein et Yitzhak Rabin le 26 octobre 1994, jour de la signature du traité de paix.

## Saison jordanienne

# Retour sur 8000 ans d'Histoire

L'exposition «Jordanie, sur les pas des archéologues», inaugurée ce soir à Paris par le roi Hussein, offre un voyage vers les temps les plus reculés du royaume hachémite.

**Vous voici** au cœur des richesses archéologiques et historiques de la Jordanie, un peu comme ces voyageurs d'un autre temps qui en ont découvert les mystères.

Dans cette exposition proposée par l'Institut du Monde Arabe jusqu'au 5 octobre, le visiteur retrouve la démarche de l'archéologue qui fouille les vestiges les plus récents pour découvrir le passé. C'est l'une des originalités de l'exposition. La visite commence au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre èpoque et se termine 7000 ans av. J.C. Un parcours inversé qui recouvre plusieurs périodes du passé. «Ce voyage cherche à offrir une Jordanie de l'Antiquité», explique Ghazi Bishah, directeur du département des Antiquités à Amman.

«Le visiteur passe d'une époque à une autre grâce aux vestiges archéologiques qui datent des ères omeyyade, romaine, byzantine, hellénistique, nabatéenne, néolithique et même des âges du fer et du bronze».

Au total, plus de 200 objets et fragments sont présentés :

des jarres, des brûle-parfums, des jattes, des céramiques ainsi que des peintures, des pages rares du Coran ou des écrits anciens.

A ne pas manquer, la stèle de Mesha reconstituée au Louvre et le rouleau de cuivre de Qumran.

On y découvre aussi une maquette sur l'architecture et l'art omeyyade de Qusayr Amra (voir ci-contre) et les mosaïques des églises de Madaba et de Jérusalem. Elles représentent des scènes religieuses et même mythologiques. Pétra n'est pas oubliée avec des photos inédites de la fin du siècle dernier et des clichés récents en couleur de la ville rouge.

Et enfin les fameuses statues et figurines néolithiques d'Ain Ghazal, exposées pour la première fois en Europe.

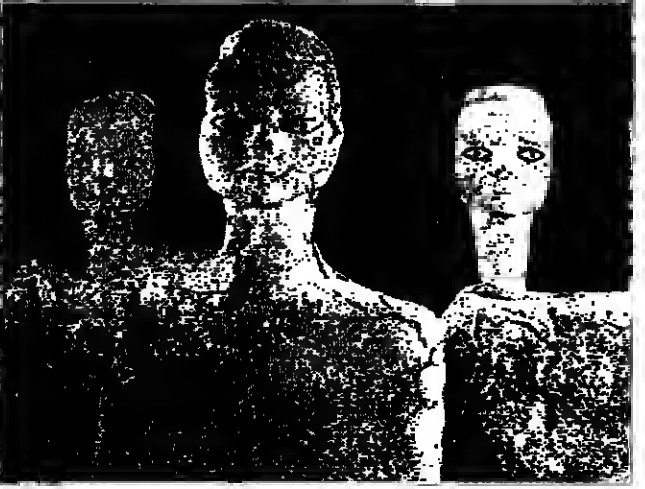
Avec cette sélection d'objets variés, le public français est invité à étancher sa curiosité. «Au-delà de Pétra, il existe



Idole anthropomorphe retrouvée à Pétra.

d'autres haltes étonnantes à découvrir dans un pays où cohabitent les monuments de plusieurs civilisations», insiste Geneviève Van Rossum, attachée culturelle auprès de l'ambassade de France à Amman. «Dans cette exposition, il y a des choses nouvelles sur la Jordanie. J'espère qu'elle sera produite ailleurs en France, pas uniquement à Paris.»

Nahed Al-Khlouf



Les fameuses figurines d'Ain Ghazal, pour la première fois en Europe.

## C'est la vie

L'agenda français d'Amman

## Cinéma

Cycle consacré au réalisateur Claude Sautet. Le 16 juin à 20h30 au CCCL, Vincent, François, Paul et les autres (1974).

## Exposition

L'artiste Guy Ferrer présente ses œuvres (sculptures et tableaux) au CCCL jusqu'au 19 juin 1997.

## Saison jordanienne

# Le passé retrouvé de Qusayr Amra

Grâce à un travail minutieux de reproduction, l'ensemble des fresques des bains de Qusayr Amra est présenté à l'Institut du monde arabe, ainsi qu'une maquette de ce château omeyyade.

**Dans le désert** jordanien, à environ 80 kilomètres à l'Est d'Amman, se trouve Qusayr Amra, l'un des châteaux omeyyades probablement le mieux conservé de cette période. Construit vers la moitié du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle, Qusayr Amra possède des thèmes ornés de fresques splendides redécouvertes à la fin du siècle dernier par un voyageur austro-hongrois Alois Musil. Ces fresques, qui recouvrent pratiquement tout l'intérieur de l'édifice, représentent des scènes de chasse et de bain, des athlètes à l'entraînement, des musiciens, des danseurs, des alchimistes, des artisans, des scènes de la vie pastorale.

En 1989, le département jordanien des Antiquités a demandé au gouvernement français de l'aider à effectuer un relevé exhaustif de ces fresques endommagées au cours des siècles par l'eau, la poussière, la chaleur et la fumée afin de disposer d'une documentation très précise. Cette mission a été confiée à l'Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient (Ifapo) et tout particulièrement à Claude Vibert-Guigüe, un archéologue français qui travaille sur ce projet depuis maintenant sept ans.

D'un point de vue technique, cette tâche était assez fastidieuse. Juché sur une échelle ou un escabeau, Claude Vibert-Guigüe a reproduit ces fresques en les calquant. Il a ainsi restitué toutes les peintures présentes à l'intérieur de Qusayr Amra. Des reproductions originales qui sont désormais disponibles en noir et blanc ou en couleurs.

Pour les Européens, les fresques de Qusayr Amra offrent une représentation très importante de l'art islamique datant d'une époque «où l'on ne pensait vraiment pas qu'un tel art existait», explique Claude Vibert-Guigüe. Pour la première fois, dessins et photos vont permettre aux archéologues et au grand public d'observer de près les détails de ces peintures. A travers ces dessins, ils vont découvrir la richesse et la diversité de l'art omeyyade.

Parallèlement à ce travail de restitution, l'Ifapo, ainsi que d'autres instituts d'archéologie, travaillent à la préservation de ces peintures et du site de Qusayr Amra. En plus d'un état des lieux complet, l'Ifapo a procédé voilà quelques années à des travaux de restauration pour stopper les phénomènes de dégradation que connaissait ce bâtiment, en le protégeant notamment des inondations hivernales. Et fin 1996, il a assuré la reconstruction partielle de la squiche (système de puisage) à l'extérieur du site, ainsi que celle du mur éperon situé à l'ouest.

De plus, l'Ifapo et l'Ambassade de France, en collaboration avec le département des Antiquités, veulent améliorer l'aménagement de ce site, en construisant notamment un nouveau bâtiment pour l'accueil des visiteurs qui abritera des panneaux explicatifs.

Pour l'exposition qui est inaugurée aujourd'hui à

l'Institut du monde arabe, une maquette représentant les volumes extérieurs de ces bains et les peintures intérieures dans leur état restitué sera présentée. Selon Claude Vibert-Guigüe, cette exposition «sera une occasion importante de montrer le rôle que la Jordanie peut jouer dans la recherche archéologique, ainsi que la diversité et la richesse de son patrimoine archéologique».

Cette longue et difficile mission franco-jordanienne devrait prochainement trouver son aboutissement dans la publication d'un ouvrage rassemblant toutes les reproductions de ces peintures, accompagnées du

commentaire de Ghazi Bishah, directeur du département des Antiquités et expert de la période omeyyade.

D'ici la publication de cet ouvrage, les Jordaniens qui ne seront pas à Paris peuvent déjà avoir un avant-goût de ces peintures à l'association des Amis de l'archéologie. Quelques reproductions sont en effet présentées là-bas, et partiront prochainement dans les écoles de Jordanie.

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Une partie de la maquette de Qusayr Amra.



# Corrosive effects of civilization threaten pyramids

Ann LoLordo

CAIRO, Egypt—At the foot of the pyramids, a turbanned old man sells bottled water from a cart jammed with blocks of ice. Nearby, a group of teenagers share a picnic lunch in the shade of the pyramids' tomb. Teenage boys gather for an afternoon smoke. And a camel-riding police officer chases horsemen and hucksters from the promenade leading to the Great Pyramid of Cheops. Tourist buses, taxis and horse-drawn carts vie for space in a parking lot that faces the smoggy skyline of Cairo.

"Hey, you need a camel? He's a very good camel," the animal's owner calls out in accented English to a passing tourist. His name is Charley Brown.

In their time, the ancient tombs of the pharaohs have survived conquering Greeks, Romans, Mamelukes and Turks. But urban sprawl and

the tourist trade of the 20th century are today's threat to Egypt's treasures. The Great Pyramid, one of the seven wonders of the world, suffers from what Zahi Hawass calls "site pollution." And Hawass, the caretaker of this more than 4,000-year-old mausoleum, is trying to implement the cure. A plan, already under way, seeks to manage the tourist trade.

He wants to create a buffer around the site to separate it from the prevailing carnival-like atmosphere.

Horsemen gallop along a paved road, slowing to offer tourists a trek to the Sphinx. Camels, their humps draped with colorful woolen saddle bags, plod beside rickshaws ferrying visitors to a scenic overlook.

Children free from the cares of school scramble up the facade of the Great Pyramid as did visitors before the turn-of-

the-century. A French tourist withdraws from pesky souvenir hawkers, while another admires the blue scarabs for sale.

Anxious camel riders fret about the price of their desert journey, hoping that the fee includes getting on—and off—the beast.

"If you come to the pyramids, this site should have dignity. It should have mystery and quietness," says Hawass, the pyramids director since 1987. "People should not be bothered by the noise, by camel drivers speaking in American accents. They shouldn't have a post card vendor running after them."

Perhaps the solemnity envisioned by Hawass would be achievable if the pyramids existed in an expanse of desert pictured in so many post cards. But the pyramids stand now at the edge of a Cairo suburb.

The road that leads here—a 7-mile stretch built in 1860 to accommodate an empress' car-

riage—remained unpaved until the 1970s when President Carter visited. Today, however, the pyramids road is four lanes wide. And it's lined with souvenir shops, nightclubs, a few hotels, papyrus institutes and fast-food restaurants. Houses and apartment buildings have risen in the fertile fields that once stretched south from Cairo.

This is the scene that leads to the Giza plateau. But behind the great stone structures, the land swells and softens in the sands of the Sahara. At daybreak or dusk, the pyramids most resemble the limestone monuments seen by the old explorers. Silhouetted against a dying sun, they rise majestically in a mauve-tinged sky.

But most tourists see the pyramids in the bright glare of the sun. Many arrive on tour buses that drive to an area behind the pyramids, an overlook known as the Panorama for its splendid view.



A panoramic view of the pyramids in Giza, Egypt. (The Baltimore Sun, photo by Ann LoLordo.)

Before the tourists descend from buses, vendors in the traditional *galibya* walk briskly toward them.

They carry T-shirts with Pharaonic symbols. Necklaces and tote bags hang from one arm; the other offers up a tray of miniature pyramids and figu-

ries of the pharaohs.

Government-licensed camel drivers also stroll over. Their shoe-eyed beasts remain on a nearby sandy plot. The management plan being implemented by the pyramid authorities would relocate the camels from this ridge. The drivers say the move would cut into their business, a trade managed by generations of camel men.

Farouk Mohammed Furgani followed his father and grandfather to the pyramids. He has worked in the trade 38 of his 54 years. Born in the nearby Mena village, Furgani is a tall man whose dark complexion conveys his sub-Saharan ancestry.

He wears the *galibya* and sneakers. A baseball cap wrapped with a scarf protects him from the sun. He keeps his two camels, Mohammad and Ali, at the stable outside the pyramid gates. If Hawass moves ahead with his plan to move the camel drivers to a new area, Furgani says his daily camel commute would increase to two hours.

Sayed Khattab, a tour guide,

said most tourists expect to see camels in the area of the pyramids. "The Japanese, 95 percent of them, tell us before hand they want to ride a camel, near the pyramids and take pictures," he says.

But Hawass says his intention is not to deprive tourists of their mementos or to deprive camel drivers of their livelihood. The tour buses will be directed to the new site and neither group will suffer.

"Everything needs a system," says Hawass. "I am making a system. We need to make the pyramids a respected place."

Hawass, an archeologist with a doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania, is motivated by his desire to preserve the pyramids for future generations. The stresses on the massive stone edifices are many—the vagaries of weather, camel dung or human sweat. In 1983, he banned tourists from the interior of the Great Pyramid for six months. The reason: the breath of tourists walking

through the passageways creates moisture, which then turns into corrosive salt.

As part of the conservation plan, a ventilation system was installed in the Great Pyramid and the famed Sphinx is undergoing restoration. Hawass wants to build a picnic area away from the pyramids for Egyptians.

His plan calls for a special road that would keep visitors in view of the pyramids but a safe distance away. "If you visit Disneyland, you park five miles away," he says.

Also envisioned is an IMAX theater at the nearby Mena House hotel to re-create a journey inside the pyramids.

"This is a way to make children love the monuments and make the people care about their heritage," says Hawass. "I think the pyramids should be closed to people. I don't have the power. If I did have the power, I would close them tomorrow."

LA Times-Washington Post News Service

## Pros of 'Con' too few to save latest Bruckheimer film

By Kenneth Turan

HOLLYWOOD—"Con Air" is a big, loud, noisy movie made with almost scientific precision for people who like big, loud, noisy movies. Numbing but not boring, it's finally more dispiriting than exhilarating, like a wild night of debauchery that leaves only a fearsome hangover for a souvenir.

Producer Jerry Bruckheimer, having made "Top Gun," "Bad Boys," "The Rock" and similar fare with his late partner Don Simpson, knows the drill for this kind of picture. Pump up the volume, add on the crashes, blasts and explosions, increase the body count and sit back and count the money.

New to Jerry's world are Simon West, a British commercial director making his feature debut, and screenwriter Scott Rosenberg, best known for "Things to Do in Denver When You're Dead." Their contributions, combined with a capable group of actors, improve on business as usual, but the change isn't enough to make this trip necessary for the uninitiated.

The story of how "every creep and freak in the known universe" combine to take over a US Marshall's Service prison airplane, "Con Air" starts with a glimpse of its hero, human killing machine Cameron Poe (Nicolas Cage), at a high point in his life. A newly minted Army Ranger, Poe

has barely had time to receive a welcome home kiss from his pregnant wife in Mobile, Alabama, before he gets involved in a barroom altercation and ends up drawing a seven- to 10-year sentence for justifiable homicide.

Passing the hours studying origami and staying fit, Poe also finds time to write mushy letters to his wife and the daughter he's never met, notes that Cage reads in an Alabama accent so thick it makes George Wallace sound like David Niven. It's the signature of a borderline parody performance that warns "Anacconda's" Jon Voight he'd best look to his laurels.

Paroled after eight years, Poe is just an airplane ride away from his family. But the plane he calls "my sweet bird of freedom" is in reality an airborne snake pit, taking a group of criminal monsters to a new supervision designed to "warehouse the worst of the worst."

Demented leader of this particular pack is Cyrus "The Virus" Grissom, "poster child for the criminally insane," neatly played by a gleeful John Malkovich. Among his henchpersons



Cage

are Nathan "Diamond Dog" Jones (Ving Rhames), a murderous black separatist; the aptly named Billy Bedlam (Nick Chinlund); and serial rapist John "Johnny 23" Baca (Danny Trejo).

Much to the chagrin of the good guys on the ground, ranging from the shrewd Vince Larkin (John Cusack) to Duncan Malloy (Colm Meaney), hot-headed enough to have "AZZ KIKR" on his license plate, these menaces to society commandeer the plane and make a try for freedom.

Plot contrivances being what they are, Poe has a chance to walk away from this messy cargo. But, as chivalrous as his accent, he stays on board to protect best friend Baby-O (Mykelti Williamson) and a female guard (Rachel Ticotin). Johnny 23 has in his sights. "I can't trade a friend's life for my own," he says, a grand sentiment for sure.

Director West is adept at keeping things moving and writer Rosenberg does provide some good lines, like Cyrus' sincere "love your work" aside to Hannibal Lectorish mass murderer Garland Greene (Steve Buscemi).

But with a noise level so high the dialogue has to be screamed and more silly moments than sane ones, "Con Air" is an animated comic book put together to pound an audience into submission, not entertain it. It gets the job done, but a pretty picture it is not.

LA Times-Washington Post News Service



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